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**AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,**

**FROM
THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANITY
IN THAT KINGDOM,**

**TO
THE PRESENT TIME.**

**WITH
R E M A R K S
ON THE MOST IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES.**

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND.



**BY
THE REVEREND JOHN SKINNER,
A PRESEYTER OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND,
AT LONGSIDE, ABERDEENSHIRE.**

VOLUME II.

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L E T T E R X X X I .

Earl of Arran chosen Regent on the Death of James V.—Proceedings in Parliament favourable to the Reformation—The Popish Party alarmed persecutes the Reformers—Burning of Mr. George Wishart—Murder of Cardinal Beton, with Reflections—New Preachers at St. Andrews—Account of John Knox—And of John Rough afterwards put to Death in England.

IN prosecution of my design of giving you a distinct account of our ecclesiastical affairs, from the first appearance of christianity in Scotland, to the present time, I have already advanced as far as the beginning of that conspicuous æra, which produced a surprizing change in the religious system of Britain, and will ever be distinguished as one of the most remarkable periods in the annals of our church. We have seen how the business of the *Reformation* was going on in Germany, and what steps the Protestants there had taken for the safety of their persons, and the free exercise of their religion,

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LETTER XXXI.

convenient for the nation
considered by the reforming pa
vourable to their views. The f
action, subſequent to this unexp
the choice of a Regent or Gover
withſtanding the intrigues of Carc
it is ſaid, produced a forged will
in his own favour, fell upon Jame
of Arran, who now, upon the dea
of Albany without iſſue, was after t
the next heir to the crown, being th
ſiſter of James the third. This c
Regency gave univerſal ſatisfaction
nation, except to the Cardinal and
mong the clergy. The reſt were
the power taken out of the Cardina
was both hated and feared for his j
rity: And they in particular who fa
pearances of a reformation in the ch
ed great hopes from the governor's
nature, and the ſigns of his inclina
For, to the great offence of the cleri
his family two Ch...

in Scotland, and it is said, had translated the new LETTER testament into the vulgar tongue : The other had ~~XXXI.~~ been a Dominican too, and on the governor's application had got permission from the Cardinal to leave his monastery at Stirling, and become his Lordship's chaplain. These two preachers were not only encouraged by the governor, but were likewise countenanced by such of the nobility as had been carried prisoners to London after the affair of Solway-moss, and were now permitted to come home on their parole. Among these were the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell and Gray, besides many gentlemen of inferior note, most of whom, by their acquaintance with Archbishop Cranmer and other English Bishops, had imbibed the reforming principles of that church, and now brought them to their own country with them. The King of England too hearing of his nephew's death, and being always attentive to the interests of his own kingdom, had formed in his mind a project of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his son Edward and the Scottish Queen Mary, and had engaged his Scottish prisoners, whom he treated with great kindness for that purpose, to support his proposal with all their influence on their return home.

All these circumstances bore a favourable aspect towards a regular reformation in Scotland on the English plan, and for a while some proper use seems to have been made of them. For how soon the Mar. 15, A.D. 1543. Parliament met, a petition was presented by Robert Lord Maxwell, craving " that it may be Keith's Hist. p. 36. lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have " the holy writ of the old and new testament in " the vulgar tongue, in English or Scotch, of a " good and true translation, without incurring any

“ contrary.” When this draught
read, Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow
cellor, stood up, and in his own
name of all the prelates of the
the three estates of Parliament, “
“ to *simpliciter*, unto the time th
“ council might be had of all th
“ kingdom, to advise and conclus
“ necessary to be had among the C
“ not, and thereafter to shew the
“ tion that shall be made in tha
“ thereupon asked instruments.”
ing of this protestation, the bill wa
on the nineteenth of March proclama
made at the market cross of Edinbu
governor’s order.

This was gaining one consideration
which the church of Rome had lo
stood out against. Yet it is certain
national churches for many hundred
the scriptures in their own vulgar lan
tho’ the Popes in the West had b

which his people had enjoyed for more than two hundred years, says, " It appears that God designed the scripture to be obscure in several places, lest, if it had been plain to all the world, it should grow contemptible, and by being wrong interpreted might be the source of error : And it is no excuse, that some holy persons have allowed what the people demand out of simplicity, since the primitive church tolerated many things which have been corrected upon serious examination, after religion was better established and further extended : For which reason we, by the authority of St. Peter, forbid what your subjects so imprudently desire ; and we order you to oppose this their foolish temerity with all your force." These reasons urged by this violent Pope, however weak and inconclusive, are still made use of upon this subject by the Romanists of the present day. But if the scriptures were to be preserved from contempt and abuse by being shut up in an unknown tongue, may it not be asked, what entitled the Latin tongue to this high office ? Why not keep them locked up under the equally impenetrable obscurity of their own sacred originals of Hebrew and Greek, in which their inspired authors spoke and wrote them, rather than confine them to a language in which they had originally no concern, and which could claim no intrinsic merit ? The new testament was at first spread thro' the world in Greek, as the old was in Hebrew, till a Greek translation was made. And the Latin christians thought it then incumbent on them to get both translated into their common language for their common use. Were not the scriptures in danger of being abused or becoming contemptible then, when the Latin was the vulgar

LETTER
XXXL
~

...the once commandin
high and mighty Rome, that
still keeps up this otherwise un
tion for the Latin bible, whic
of the bold decree of the cour
nouncing it authentick; yet at
and corrections it has undergon
by the two Popes Sixtus V. and
still as imperfect and incorrect
have.

It is true, the church of Ron
have acted wisely enough for wha
her main interest on this occasio
many others. For as she suspes
miscuous acquaintance with the
by a wrong interpretation, lead
she was pleased to call error, so
be a mean of discovering things
not with brought to light, and
plain and natural sense of scriptur
to be greater errors than those I
guard against. This had been
with Wickliff and Hufs, Luther, a
opponents : And our Archbishe
dependent upon

quest of the convocation in 1534, the King had caused to be printed and dispersed, and for a copy of such statutes and injunctions as had been lately made in England for the reformation of religion, and suppressing the Pope's authority. Accordingly the books came, and at the same time, or soon after, Henry sent down one Richardson a Priest, whom the governor heard preach, and promised him a living and entertainment in the country. This man went to St. Andrews, and talked with the Cardinal, but on what business or to what effect, we are not told.

LETTER
XXXI.

Keith's
Hist. p. 39.

All this looked well in so far, and great expectations were formed of what would follow. But these flattering prospects came to nothing, at least for some time, tho' a beginning was now made, which might in end have accomplished a good work, if the governor had kept steady to his first professions. It is true he had difficulties to encounter, which would have required more natural resolution to surmount than he was possessed of. The correspondence with England met with much opposition from different quarters. The proposed marriage, tho' once formally agreed to, and hostages given for the performance, was not universally relished. The clergy set themselves violently against it, from a just fear of the dangerous consequences of it to their religious system: And a great body of the nobility, such as the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Montrose, Bothwell, Monteith, the Lord Fleming, with many more of all ranks, out of a national dislike to the English, entered into a solemn bond to resist the match with all their might, and did what they could to engage the governor to break off the treaty, by offering to bring about a match between the infant Queen and

... prior to his most
sent titles and future hopes
Pope's authority and the laws c
established. All these consider
the timorous, unstable man, th
made a public renunciation of
and was solemnly reconciled to
ceiving absolution from the han
in the church of the Franciscans
time in September 1543.

This unexpected step soon alte
fairs. Richardson the English Pri
his countrymen, made homewar
could : The governor's two chapl
ed : Friar Guillam, fearing to be
for his doctrine, which the Abt
been always finding fault with
England, and died there. His
staid some time in this country, a
more of him by and by. Nor w
fatisfied with thus abandoning his
but to testify his new zeal the n
publick speech in the next

“ them according to the laws of halie Kirk : And LETTER.
 “ my Lord Governor shall be ready at all times XXXI.
 “ to do therein what accords him of his office.”

Upon this the Cardinal, who since the King's death had been pretty quiet, took courage again, and appeared once more in his own colours. For being now fortified with the Regent's authority, he was always travelling thro' the country with a splendid retinue, either making friends or destroying enemies. The Pope had sent a legate into Scotland to dissuade the nation from the English marriage, proposed for their Queen. He was nobly entertained; but without acting in any public sphere went off again in March 1544. And soon after the Cardinal was invested with this character, which added nothing to his power, whatever it did to his dignity. In 1545 he made a visitation of his diocese, attended by the Governor, and a number of the nobility and gentry; and being come to Perth, he convened before him a number of suspected persons who, besides other frivolous points of accusation, were indicted particularly for contravening that clause in the act of the Governor's first Parliament, whereby the lieges, tho' in general allowed to read the scripture, were prohibited from disputing about the interpretation of it. The pannels being found guilty, as was to be looked for before such a court and upon such a capitious indictment, were condemned to different degrees of punishment: Some were imprisoned, some banished, and five men, and a woman named Helen Stirk, who was then nursing a child of her own, were for example's sake sentenced to death, which was immediately executed, the men being as usual burnt at a stake, and the woman drowned in a pool. From thence the Cardinal marched, on

new certain
Lutner, and that the old was
be read. From Angus the p
the Mearns, and then returne
where the Cardinal spent the C
and afterwards proceeded to E

Here perceiving that after all l
were still inclining to the new
they were encouraged in these
immoral lives of too many of the
bled a provincial council in Janua
to consult about proper methods
ing heresy, and to restrain the
churchmen, which was so scandal
people such a handle to desert the
they proceeded in that plausible d
so often been pretended, remains
haps they were diverted from it, c
it, by the agreeable information
ceived, that the famous new preac
Wishart, whom the Cardinal ha
search of, was just then at the ho
in East Lothian. The Cardinal w
to the governor, and got him to se
prehend the heretick. But the

night carried him to the house of Elphinston, where the Cardinal was waiting him. From thence he was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, and in a few days removed to the Cardinal's own castle of St. Andrews. Thither the other prelates were immediately summoned, and accordingly convened on the twenty seventh of February, in order to the trial and condemnation of this supposed Arch-heretick. The Archbishop of Glasgow advised the Cardinal to get a commission from the Governor to some man of quality to execute justice, lest all the burden should lie upon the clergy if they should finish the process in their own names. To this the Cardinal consented, in confidence that the Governor would not hesitate in the matter, as for some time past he had found him very obsequious to all his purposes. Bur the Governor, either out of pity to the sufferer, or by the importunity of other friends, warned the Cardinal not to precipitate the trial, till he should come in person and see the cause maturely examined, and if otherwise he protested that the man's blood should be required at his hand. This answer grieved the Cardinal not a little, who feared the danger of delay in an affair he had so much at heart, and therefore resolved to go on with it by his own authority, as he should see most fitting. So the convention was held on the day appointed, and after the usual formalities of citation and accusation Mr. Wishart was sentenced to be burnt on the first of March, which was put in execution accordingly: And that day the Cardinal made proclamation thro' St. Andrews, that no person should pray for the heretick under pain of ecclesiastical censures.

This Mr. Wishart was of the family of Pitarro in the Merns. In his younger years he had been master of the grammar school of Montrose, and

LETTER
XXXI.

Spots. p. 79

to learn whether he was in a
orders or not. His death was a
umph to the persecuting zealots
ral himself boasted of it, as givi
to heresy, and putting the chu
perfect security. But so uncert
of all human consultations, that
proved the rock on which he an
perished: For not only were th
common people much irritated b
but even the humours of some of
otherwise bore no good will to the
so enraged at his insatiable crue
openly vowed the blood of Mr.
not pass unrevenge. Of this nu
and Norman Leslies, the one broth
to the Earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy of
some others, of less note: Who in
the plot, met all at St. Andrews ea
ing on Saturday the twenty ninth
having by a preconcerted stratage
to the castle, they burst into the
chamber

heretics of those days, entirely void of all humani-
 ty.* This bold action was variously thought of, XXXI.
 both at the time and since. The Romish party did, and still do execrate it in the bitterest language, and would be laying the odium of it not on the persons only who were concerned in it, but but even on the principles which they were supposed to espouse: Which, if conclusive, would militate equally against themselves. For they should remember who they were that murdered their darling Archbishop Becket, and how conscientiously they did penance to the Pope for it. This was more than three hundred years before Luther or Calvin were heard of: And so much was this barbarous spirit kept up even among Catholics, as they call themselves, that much about the time of our Cardinal Beton's tragical end, a like assassination was perpetrated on another Cardinal, George Martinusius, Archbishop of Strigonia in Hungary, who for his ambitious intermeddling in politicks, was privately murdered in his apartment by the hands of his own secretary. Nor was this method of revenge upon the sacred and inviolable persons of Cardinals, confined to such nations as might be reckoned savage and unpolished. Even the annals of France present us with an account of one Cardinal, Bourbon, imprisoned, and another, Guise, stabbed to death by a Catholic King's command, at a meeting of the estates of the realm in 1588. I mention these almost cotemporary instances, to check the illgrounded vanity of some men, who would make the world believe that none but Pro-

* By a daughter of the family of Airly he had several children, one of whom he had, only a few weeks before his death, married to the master of Crawford, and given 4000 merks of portion with her.

LETTER testants are capable of such atrocious villainies.
XXXI. On the other hand, there are a set of writers who go as far to the other extreme, even to the borders of blasphemy, in crying up this horrid deed. The history attributed to Knox, by the style of the narration, holds it forth as a godly and praiseworthy action: The Martyrologist Fox expressly affirms that "the murderers were stirred up by the Lord." And the Presbyterian Historiographer Calderwood says, "the Cardinal intended farther, if the Lord "had not stirred up some men of courage to cut "him off in time." These are strange expressions: And it is hoped the modern writers of that party will now in this enlightened age have more regard to the honour of our common christianity in general, and of the Protestant name in particular, than adopt these uncharacteristic ravings of their predecessors, which some more than a century after, were again renewed on occasion of a like barbarity to an Archbishop of St. Andrews of another denomination.

But before I have done with the Cardinal and Mr Wishart, there is a circumstance to be taken notice of, which the writers on both sides appear to lay much stress upon. To aggravate the Cardinal's cruelty, it is said, that whilst Wishart was burning at the stake, the Cardinal sat in a window overlaid with tapestry, glutting his eyes with the shocking sight: And that the martyr in the midst of the flames should say, "This fire hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit: But he, who from yonder high place beholdeth us with so much pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously, as he doth now rest himself proudly." This prediction is much spoken of by the tribe

tribe of writers I last mentioned, as a sign of the LETTER
 man's prophetic spirit, and an undeniable testi- XXXI.
 mony of the truth for which he suffered: While
 the Popish party as confidently infer from it that
 Mr. Wishart was in the plot against the Car-
 dinal's life, and so might the more readily fore-
 tell his death: and indeed the being so particu-
 lar in the circumstance of the window, and the
 event happening so soon after, seems to give
 some ground for this inference, as all the histo-
 rians agree in telling us that, in order to pacify
 the mob without, who were clamouring "What
 " was become of my Lord Cardinal?" the as-
 sassins exposed his mangled body at that very
 window. Now both these opposite conclusions,
 either to the honour or dishonour of Mr. Wi-
 shart's memory, would fall to the ground if the
 prediction itself might be called in question:
 And that it is highly questionable, may be pre-
 sumed from these considerations which Bishop Hist. p. 42.
 Keith has laid before us, and to which the last
 editors of Bayle's general dictionary, men of no
 mean penetration in criticism, give their appro-
 bation. 1. That Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
 who lived at the time, and wrote the tragedy
 of Cardinal Beton, in which he collects all that
 could be suggested to the Cardinal's disadvantage,
 takes no notice of the prediction, nor of the
 circumstance of the window on which it is found-
 ed. 2. That Fox in his Martyrology does not
 mention it. And 3. that there is nothing of it
 in the first edition of Knox's history, which if
 written by him, would certainly have given us
 such a remarkable story, as Knox was Wishart's
 intimate acquaintance, and staid so long with the
 murderers in the castle, that he could not but
 have

LETTER have known it, if it had been true; and would
 XXXI. not have omitted the publishing of it if he had
 known it. To which let me add, that in all
 probability Buchanan, whose inventive genius
 has displayed itself in more productions of the
 scandalous kind, has been the first fabricator
 of this one too; and the next editions of Knox's
 history have, for the sake of embellishment, bor-
 rowed it from Buchanan, of whose Latin their ac-
 count is a faithful translation.

Upon the whole, there is no need of this doubt-
 ful story, either to adorn Wihart's, or stigmatize
 the Cardinal's memory. The burning of the one
 was not only in itself a cruel, but as matters then
 stood, a most impolitic business: And the mur-
 dering the other, wicked as he seems to have
 been, was a piece of the most savage and un-
 christian butchery. And I shall shut it all up
 with the modest Archbishop Spotswood's reflec-
 tion upon it, "that he now remains a tragical
 " ensample in story, to admonish every man to
 " keep within his bound, and hold that mode-
 " ration which is fitting."

p. 83.

The see of St. Andrews being thus vacated by
 the death of the Cardinal, was immediately fil-
 led by the Abbot of Paisley, who being nomi-
 nated by his brother the governor, was elected
 by the Canons, and had his bulls of confirmation
 from the Pope without the least scruple or de-
 lay. At the same time the Pope wrote to the
 Governor and the new Primate, exhorting and
 urging them to manifest their zeal, in punish-
 ing the injury done to the st te ecclesiastic. Ac-
 cordingly the Bishops were earnest with the Go-
 vernor, that a speedy and effectual course should
 be taken for apprehending the murderers, and
 the

the ecclesiastical judges issued out their solemn LETTER anathemas against them, and against all who XXXI. should succour or uphold them. On the tenth of June the council sat, and next day emitted an act against "invading, destroying, or withholding abbeys or other religious places," fearing, it seems, that the violence of the times might proceed to such extremities. In August the Par- Keith. p. 6.liament met, and took under deliberation how the castle of St. Andrews was to be regained out of the hands of the party who had taken possession of it. This, it was thought at first, might have been brought about by capitulation: For the two Leslies had already offered to the Governor to deliver up the castle, and his eldest son, whom the Cardinal, under pretence of honour, had kept there as a pledge of his father's fidelity, upon condition of obtaining a full remission under the great seal. But against this proposal, the Archbishop of Glasgow protested that no remission should be granted, till they first got absolution from the Pope for such a murder. Keith. p. 50. Yet the remission was agreed to by the Governor and the Estates: But the murderers being startled at the Archbishop's protestation, and suspecting some kind of quirk, began to recede from their proposals, on which the remission was cancelled; and on the fourteenth of August they were all declared guilty of high treason, and their goods and lands forfeited. The same day the clergy taxed themselves in the sum of three thousand pounds monthly towards carrying on the siege of the castle, which having been strongly fortified by the Cardinal for his own purposes, could not be reduced in any other way.

By this time too great numbers, besides the
 Vol. II. D original

not say, and the man himself
in it: For all the time that th
on, from the twenty third of Au
of December, the besieged gav
all manner of riot and debauc
the danger they were in, or of
of their new preacher who in
considered, could not think of
fluence with such a graceless ban
time the King of England had t
his protection, and the sea being
them large supplies of victuals a
so that the Governor thought pro
a treaty with them on certain co
the seventeenth of December rai
Upon this Mr. Rough, finding
less in the castle, left it and wer
where he' preached publickly, a
disputations with the established
controverted points. Soon after,
Knox came to St. Andrews, and e
to supply the vacant office of
-is-

all the branches of academical learning, that before the usual time he was judged fit to be admitted into holy orders. When he left the University, he took to the reading of St. Augustin, who pleased him most of all the fathers, and becoming acquainted with the Friar Guillam I spoke of, he thereby got the first knowledge of the reformed doctrines that were then in agitation. With this new light he employed himself for a livelihood, in teaching of children in such private families as favoured a reformation, where he expounded the scriptures, and performed the other offices of a chaplain. And now, taking the advantage of the strength of that fortress, and longing to be with the noble company who had so bravely avenged the death of his beloved Mr. Withart, he came to St. Andrews in the beginning of the year 1547, being now in the forty second year of his age. Here he connected himself with Mr. Rough, in order to support him in his disputations, because, as Knox's history describes him, "tho' his doctrine was without corruption, yet was he not the most learned." At last a sort of congregation being formed in the town, partly of the town's people, and partly from the castle, a thought struck them of having Mr. Knox for their preacher, and to go about it with some shew of regularity, they gave him a kind of call, by the mouth of Mr. Rough their former volunteer: Which upon their principles seems to have been altogether superfluous, as Mr. Knox's right to preach, without any call, was just as good as Mr. Rough's had been before. But whatever right either of them had, so it was in fact, that Mr. Knox now looked on himself as lawful minister of St. Andrews, in which character,

proceedings, he sharply rebuked
 them for suffering such heretical
 doctrines to be taught without
 this all the clergy in town
 King Rough and Knox before
 confutation of sundry articles
 sermon, which they maintained
 and Knox vigorously defended
 be scriptural truths. Indeed a
 kingdom that heard of it, were
 at this audacious step which was
 of the castle, Knox had so come
 upon : And to give a check to
 of it, they presented, on the ninth
 a supplication to the Governor,
 Bishops, Prelates and kirkmen,
 seditious heresies of Luther, heretics,
 and praying his Grace
 with p. 62. Lords “ for their princely honour
 “ to give their hasty help and
 “ behalf.” In answer to which
 commands “ the kirkmen to give in
 “ heretics and heretical

Sundays, and to keep off from any of the disputed points as much as they could. By this shift, which necessity drove them to, Knox was kept out of the pulpit on Sunday, but preached on the week days, none daring to molest him, for fear of his parishioners in the castle. But John Rough, being grieved with the wicked and licentious lives of those people, which all Knox's zeal and ministerial authority could not reform, and probably, upon second thoughts, not satisfied with himself for being among them, left them at last altogether, and departed into England. There he preached in the towns of Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle some years, and was then provided by the Archbishop of York in a benefice near Hull, on which he resided till the death of Edward VI. On that event he fled with his wife to Friseland, where he made a living by knitting caps, hose, and the like, till the year 1557, when coming to London to provide some necessaries for his business, he fell into the hands of the Magistrates, and was carried before Bonner Bishop of London. Being questioned if at any time since his last coming into England he had preached, he answered "that he had not preached: but in some places where godly people were assembled, he had read the prayers of the communion book, set forth in the reign of King Edward." And being asked what his judgment was of that book, he declared, that "he did approve of it, as agreeing in all points with the word of God." When he was brought forth to judgment, he was charged on these three heads. 1. That being in orders and a Priest, he had married a wife. 2. That he would not use the Latin service; and 3. That he


LETTER

XXXI.

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Spotf. p. 87.

From this short account  
was one of our first re-  
man, these two observati-  
worthy of our notice. 1.  
English liturgy, and consec-  
set forms of prayer. An-  
upon reading prayers in  
people to be more his c-  
than preaching; which is  
of those among us who b-  
ly followers of our first  
upon preaching and hearing  
sential ingredient of what  
It is likewise to be observ-  
dissenters from the establi-  
their enemies branded with  
and their opinions called the  
For Calvin had not yet  
talked of in this country,  
was Calvin's fore-runner, d-  
been ever known in it. I  
fore of this early attachm-  
mod'

fleeing from persecution to, and when employed LETTER  
serving in, a church where such a superiority was XXXI.  
still strictly preserved ; and where, tho' they could   
not heartily agree to all the points of her doctrine  
at her first advance towards reformation, they  
never made any objection to her constitution of  
government. Parity or imparity was none of  
the questions then agitated ; at least it was not  
discussed in the way it has been since, nor so  
thoroughly examined as to become a test of Pro-  
testant communion. But of this I shall soon  
have occasion to treat more fully.

Mean time I am, &c.

LETTER

# L E T T E R

*Death of Henry VIII. of England  
in Scotland——Battle of Flodden  
concluded between the two Kingdoms  
Persecution of the Reformers renewed  
Synods held by the Archbishop  
——Account of the Council of  
the Affairs of the Protestants*

LETTER  
XXII. **I**N the beginning of the year  
1534. Henry VIII. of England, who by this  
pal yoke, which his predecessors had  
laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical  
which the English nation rejoiced in.  
It is true, he has been blamed for  
all the lengths that were necessary  
of the Council.

tic vows, private masses, and auricular confession are enacted under severe penalties ; and it is still thrown out as a sarcastic reflection on him, that in the forenoon he hanged the Papists who maintained the Pope's supremacy, and in the afternoon, burnt the Protestants who denied his six articles. Yet it does not seem quite fair to burden Henry with the whole odium of this apparent inconsistency in his mode of persecution. For it was the convocation, or assembly of the clergy, which after " a long and great, deliberate and " advised consultation and disputation," drew up these articles on the second of June, and the bill for enacting them was not brought into parliament till the seventh. In the convocation indeed there was always a strong party who, tho' they acknowledged the King's supreme headship, rather than incur a premunire by denying it, yet had still a strong attachment to their old friend the Pope : And therefore, in order to keep a door open for returning, if ever occasion offered, to his holiness' good graces, they indulged Henry in all his old scholastic notions, and gave Archbishop Cranmer, who stood up for a real and entire reformation, all the trouble and uneasiness they possibly could. It was by this party, and with these views, that this cruel and ensnaring bill was first framed in convocation, and then proposed and carried in parliament, where Cranmer opposed it for three days, with great courage and elocution. Yet it is remarkable, that notwithstanding this opposition, Henry still retained not only an esteem, but even a friendship and affection for this worthy Prelate, who, had he been properly supported by all his suffragans, would by degrees have drawn the King off from many

LETTER

XXXII.

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who survived him little more
and when we compare the
controulable temper of the En
hypocritical ambition of the A
the polite duplicity of the Frei
honestly said which of the three
eligible, and most becoming
Prince.


The death of Henry was :
ment to the garrison of refe
drews, who had all along de
and been supported by him.
December the garrison had :
up the castle, so soon as the
tion should come from Rome.
gining of June it came, with
clause in it, "remittimus crin
we pardon this unpardonable c
garrison excepted against, and v
ing back with the one hand
with the other ; and therefore
in expectation of being succour

* It was the envy of these time-serv
of reformation on on f

which Henry on his death-bed had given in charge to his successor. But the young King's counsellors were too dilatory in their preparations: For on the twenty ninth of June a French fleet appeared on the coast, which playing upon the castle from the sea, while the governor invested it by land, brought them to a capitulation on the thirtieth of July, by which their lives were to be spared, and all of them to be transported to France. When they arrived there, they were severally disposed of in different prisons, and some of them detained all winter in the galleys, among whom was their preacher John Knox. By this surrender, the governor recovered his eldest son, and the Popish party were highly elevated with such a signal revenge of the Cardinal's death.

But this pleasing prospect was soon sadly clouded. For in the beginning of September, the Duke of Somerset, now Protector of England under his nephew the young Edward, in prosecution of the treaty of marriage made by the Governor with the late King, entered Scotland with a well appointed army of eighteen thousand men, while a fleet of sixty sail appeared on the coast at the same time. His first proposal was to settle the matter in an amicable way by commissioners on both sides, without coming to hostilities. But the Scottish Governor, being dissuaded by his brother the Archbishop from any terms of accommodation, drew up his army in face of the enemy, who lay about Prestonpans, six miles east from Edinburgh. And in this posture both armies continued some days, till the tenth of September, when they came to an engagement near Pinkey, in which the Scots,

... ..
tors had pushed their success to
But after burning a few villages,
country and went home. Howe
ter, which the Earl of Huntly hur
led a rough courtship, so alarmed
and nobility, that it was resolved
young Queen to the castle of I
security: And a deputation was,
mother's instance, sent to the French
begging he would take the person
vereign lady into his protection ti
be ripe for marriage, which they si
tant wish might be with his son t
This was as welcome news as Hen
looked for, and accordingly six th
liaries arrived in Scotland about th
June 1548. In July a parliament
Haddington, about sending the Quee
But the nobility were not all of one
such of them as favoured the refor
keen for accepting the advantageous
ed by England, while the Govern
other party, who were most numerou
voices for the match with France.

and sailed round the Isles to Dunbarton. There LETTER the young Queen, now in the seventh year of XXXII. her age, was delivered to Monsieur de Breze,  whom the French King had sent to receive her, and in a few days landed safely in France, attended by the Lords Erskine, and Livingstone, with several young noblemen and gentlemen, and by the lady Fleming with four young ladies of the name of Mary, Livingston, Fleming, Seton and Beton. Mean time the war went on between England and Scotland with various success for two years, till at last a general peace was concluded near Boulogne in March 1550 between France and England, in which the Scots were comprehended as allies to France, and thereupon hostilities ceased on all sides.

During the continuance of this war we find little stir among the clergy, who perhaps thought it not a proper time to go on with their severities, till they should see what turn matters might take in the state, and what might be the event of the war with the Protestant English. This relaxation brought many persons over to the new doctrines, and dissenters increased daily: Upon which account, when the war was over, the clergy began to look more narrowly into their own affairs, and the burning business was begun again upon one Adam Wallace, a plain, simple man, who for some time had instructed the lady Ormiston's children in the new forms. This man was apprehended at Winton by the Primate's orders, and brought to his trial in the church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh: Where, in presence of the Governor, the Earl of Argyle justice-general, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Glencairn, and divers others of the prelates and nobility,

in St. Andrews, where a
 in a sermon to prove the
 native, but was so hooted
 by the very children crying
Friar Paternoster, that he
 the city. Yet in the uni
 was very hot, and the d
 and decide upon it. So
 on, that the Lord's pray
 God formally, and to t
 Others, not liking that dist
 be directed to God pri
 saints less principally. O
 ultimately and not ultimate
 secondarily: And the grea
 to be for saying it to God
 to the saints in a large o
 could not agree about it,
 Spotf.p 93. ferred to the synod in Janua
 met, the question was pr
 much reasoning, being put
 found "that the Lord's
 to the saints." But the Bi
 any judgment, would not f.
 h-

“ that the saints ought also to be invocated.” LETTER XXXII.
 What a farce do we find here, and how unworthy to engage the attention of sensible men, much more of a company of churchmen assembled in council? The very vulgar ridiculed these foolish altercations, and thought more pertinently on the subject than the learned doctors.* So it was no wonder that the new preachers had such a following in the nation, when the errors they appeared against, were so grossly scandalous in themselves, and debated in such an openly scandalous manner, as to become the publick scoff and derision of the very meanest of the people.

In this synod too, an order was issued for publishing a catechism in the mother tongue, containing an explication of the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer; and the curates were enjoined to read some portion of it every Sunday and holiday to the people, when there was no sermon, and until fit preachers should be provided by the Bishops.† It was suspected to

* A common servant, we are told, of the Sub-prior's, seeing an unusual hurry among the divines in convening so often, asked his master one evening what the matter was, and being told, that they could not agree to whom the Lord's prayer should be said, hastily answered, “ to whom should it be said but unto God?” What then, said the sub-prior, shall we do with the saints? The fellow replied, “ give them *Aves* and *Credos* enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them.”

† It was accordingly printed at St. Andrews in August following, by the command and at the expence of Archbishop Hamilton, whose composition it is thought to be, and consists of about 400 pages in quarto. It is a judicious commentary on the decalogue, creed, Paternoster &c. and the author shows his wisdom and moderation in taking care not to enter upon the controverted points.

be

LETTER be necessity that drove them to this expedient, and
XXXII. the main thing that prevented its efficacy was its
 being too late. Their former severities had embittered the minds of the people, and the dissenters could easily see that the gentle methods of the gospel were at last applied to, only when the rigours of the law were found to have been used in vain. Accordingly we read of little or no effect that this attempt towards instruction produced, and the desire of reformation spread more and more thro' all ranks. However the Primate went on with his endeavours to check the progress of what he called heresy. For next
A.D. 1553. year he held another provincial synod at Linlithgow, in which the maintainers of any opinion contrary to the Church of Rome were condemned, and the decrees of the council of Trent, made in the time of the late Pope Paul III. were received as obligatory on this church. Some acts too were passed for reforming the corrupt lives of the clergy, which were much complained of in every synod of these times, tho' from the frequent repetition of such general acts, there would seem to have been little or no execution done upon them, or attention paid to them.

As this is the first time we find any mention made of the council of Trent in our Scottish church, it will be proper that we take a short view of this great and last bulwark of the Romish church, from its first erection to the present date. I have already observed how earnest the Protestant Princes were, among their first demands, for a free and general council to be held somewhere in Germany, and how at last the Emperor found it convenient to humour them so far, as to promise them to do all he could to bring it about.

It

It is needless to enter into the much agitated question, whether the right of convocating a general council belongs to the ecclesiastic or the civil power, as it must be allowed that the mutual concurrence of both is necessary, both for the regularity and convenience of the assembly. In the present case the Emperor's promise, being in a great measure extorted from him, was at best evasive, and designed rather to amuse than satisfy the Protestants. What they demanded, touched the head as well as the members; and as the design of a general council was to effect a reformation of both, they could hardly expect to succeed, while the Emperor yielded the privilege of convocating it to the Pope, who was the principal party complained of. Yet this concession, favourable as it was to him, did not altogether please Pope Paul, who could not but remember the fate of his predecessor John, from the council of Constance, little more than a hundred years before: And therefore, being an artful man, he cunningly protracted the design by nominating for the place of meeting first Mantua and then Vicenza, both under his own controul, and which he was sure for that very reason the demanders would not accept of. At last, owing to the pressing importunity of the King of France, who seems to have been more hearty in the affair, tho' no more a friend to the Protestants than the Emperor, he was obliged to name a third place, and made choice of Trent, A.D. 1542. a city between Italy and Germany, under the lordship of its Bishop, who is a Prince of the Empire. Yet after all, so many delays occurred, partly casual, and partly of the Pope's contriving, that the first session was not held till

LETTER the thirteenth of December 1545, in which,
 XXXII. and in the second session in January after, no-
 thing was done, because of the paucity of the attendants. In the third session, where were present eight Cardinals, six Archbishops and thirty Bishops, besides Abbots, the Nicene creed was read and received. In the fourth session the number of the canonical books of the old and new testament, with the traditions conveyed down by the church, was settled, and the vulgate translation declared to be authentick. The fifth session decreed what was to be believed concerning original sin, that tho' it be remitted in baptism, yet concupiscence, the effect of it, remains.

When they had gone thus far, some disturbances arising in Germany obliged them to adjourn the next diet to the thirteenth of January 1547, when they met, and passed their famous decree of justification by works as well as by faith, condemning at the same time no fewer than thirty three errors on this subject, some of which, they said, allowed with the old Pelagians, too much to the will, assisted only by natural strength, and others with the modern Lutherans, ascribed all to grace governing and overbearing the will by an irresistible force. Their next meeting was on the third of March, in which they published a decree concerning the sacraments in general, and defining their number, necessity, efficacy, matter, form and minister. Soon after this a suspicion was instilled into them by their physician Jerom Fracastorius, who had a pension of sixty crowns a month from the Pope, that the air of the place was unwholesome, and threatened a pestilence : On which it was resolved to translate the council

cil to Bononia, a city in the Pope's dominions, LETTER XXXII.
 whither all the Italian Bishops and such as were the Pope's creatures immediately retired, as had been concerted. But the Emperor being highly offended at this step, expressly enjoined the German Bishops to remain at Trent. So that now the council was divided, and continued in that state of inactivity some more than four years.

In the mean time Pope Paul died, and was succeeded by Julius III. who reassembled the council at Trent on the first of May 1551. At their meeting in September, a Legate or Orator from the King of France appeared, with letters addressed to the *Meeting* at Trent. This diminutive form of address occasioned a sharp contest, whether or not they should allow the letters to be read, which at last was determined in the affirmative. In these letters the French Monarch Henry complains much of Pope Julius, who instead of being the common father and peacemaker of Christendom, as by his high station he ought to be, was industriously kindling the flames of division and animosity among the Princes of it: For which reason he formally protests here, as he had done at Rome before, 1. That he “ does not judge it safe nor honourable to send
 “ any of his Bishops to this meeting. 2. That he
 “ does not hold this meeting for a public or General Council, but looks upon it as no better than
 “ a private convention for some people's particular interests. And therefore, 3. That neither he
 “ nor any in his kingdom will receive or be
 “ bound by any thing that shall be done in it,
 “ and that, if need be, he will take such measures as his predecessors have done on like occasions.” Notwithstanding of this protestation

44 ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

LETTER from even the *Most Christian* King, the council
 XXXII. proceeded to business, and appointed extracts
 from the Lutheran writings about the Eucharist
 to be examined by so many selected Doctors,
 who were ordered to have their opinions ready
 against the next session, on the eleventh of Oc-
 tober. This was accordingly done, and a decree
 made upon that examination, establishing tran-
 substantiation and the adoration of the host.—
 But they did not choose to meddle with the
 great point of communion in both kinds to the
 laity, till the arrival of the Protestant deputies,
 who had been long in suspense about the form
 of the safe-conduct which the council had offer-
 ed them, and which from former remembrance
 they had all the reason in the world to take
 care should be well guarded against any possibi-
 lity of subterfuge. In their next session in No-
 vember they fixed the doctrines of penance and
 extreme unction. And thus were they going
 on swimmingly in their own way, and without
 paying any regard either to the objections of
 the German Protestants, or the remonstrances of
 the French Catholics, when a sudden bold stroke
 from an unsuspected quarter checked their ze-
 alous career for a while, and put them upon pro-
 viding for their own personal safety.

To understand this, we must go back a little,
 and view the situation of things in Germany,
 where we shall find, some years before this,
 the Lutheran interest much upon the decline,
 and as its enemies thought, on the point almost
 of being totally extinguished. Luther himself
 had died in 1546, and after his death his follow-
 ers began to divide among themselves. Of-
 fender in particular made a great noise at Kon-
 ingsberg

ingsberg by his teaching that man was justified, not by faith, which was Luther's capital dogma, but "by the essential righteousness of Christ inherent in him;" and being a man of a vehement spirit, he drew over great numbers to his opinion. The party too which Calvin had by this time raised in emulation of Luther, and in some points even in opposition to him, had got ground in some of the German states; and were acting for themselves upon a separate footing. All this contributed to weaken their political union, by creating jealousies among the different adherents, tho' engaged in the same general cause; and the Emperor, their common enemy, was too sharp-sighted not to discover and take hold of advantages of that kind. The repeated confederacies of the Protestants at Smalcald had irritated him to a high degree, and he was still watching every opportunity to distress and crush the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were the two principal supporters, as well as ornaments, of the Protestant name. In this he at last succeeded to his utmost wishes: For these two Princes being obliged to take arms in their own defence, against the insidious measures which Charles was pursuing, and coming to an engagement with him at Mulberg on the Elbe, April 24th, 1547, the Elector was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave some time after surrendering himself to the Emperor on the faith of a promise made to two Princes who interceded for him, was by the fallacious wording of that promise, which must throw a lasting infamy on the Emperor's name, detained under a guard for five years. But Charles was still more cruelly severe on the Elector:

LETTER
XXXII.

... met with, and
to make his own use of it
on the Italian Bishops rem
Bononia, finding that nothing
further in the council-way
a formula of agreement di
tation of divines from bot
coming to no unanimous
mitted the work to three
two of whom were Papists
shop of Numburg, and Mic
lar Bishop of Sidon, and th
John Agricola, court-preache
Brandenburg. These three
containing twenty six artic
most material points in contr
the Emperor there was not
ly contrary to the Romish
the allowing Priests to mar
cup to the laity. Charles
this project, and sent the ar
for his approbation, which h
Emperor took his own way,
the diet held at Augsburg in
rial constitution which

"council." Yet this device pleased neither party. The Lutherans for the most part protested against it as re-establishing Popery: And many of their ministers chose rather to resign their chairs, than subscribe it. The old elector of Saxony, tho' a prisoner, forbade the use of it among his people, and tho' the elector of Brandenburg, to please the Emperor, agreed to it, he never could get his favourite Divine Bucer to sign it. The Papists too clamoured about it, as yielding too much to the Hereticks, and several of their learned men were at pains to confute it. So that, after all the Emperor's fondness for it and violence in pushing the reception of it, like all such reconciling schemes, it was found to answer no salutary purpose, and only inflamed both sides with a greater heat of animosity to their own way.

All this time the Emperor was persevering in his rigour against his two illustrious prisoners, whom he had always looked upon with a malignant eye, as the two principal obstacles in the way of his ambitious projects, and now that he had got them in his power, was determined, if possible, not to part with them. But this excess of unrelenting obstinacy in end wrought the very effect which it was designed to prevent. For the new Elector Maurice, who, tho' a Lutheran in profession, had hitherto befriended the Emperor, was so incensed at this treatment of the Landgrave, whose daughter he had married, and whom he had persuaded to put himself in the Emperor's will, that he at last resolved to accomplish by force what he could not obtain by justice. To this purpose he collected a body of men, and while the Emperor in the course of his military expeditions

LETTER XXXII. expeditions was lying at Inspruck either to assist or overawe the council at Trent, by being in their neighbourhood, Maurice by forced marches came upon him so unexpectedly, that he was within a few hours of seizing his person. This daring and well conducted push had the proposed effect. The jealous Emperor, beginning to suspect Maurice when he first heard of his motions, had already released the old Elector, with a view to give Maurice trouble by reviving his claim, and upon setting on foot a negotiation of peace, the Landgrave got his liberty next. Nor were these all the consequences of this master-stroke of policy, which indeed has the appearance of treachery in Maurice, but in reality was only a playing off the Emperor's artillery upon himself. For this undertaking succeeding as intended, so frightened the Fathers of Trent with the alarm of the enterprising Maurice being so near them with a Lutheran army, that they decamped in great hurry and terror to their respective habitations, and did not assemble again as long as Charles lived, nor for several years after. And to take all advantages of the Emperor's confusion upon this disappointment, a treaty of pacification between Maurice and Ferdinand King of Bohemia, as deputy for his brother Charles, was begun at Passaw a city in the Lower Bavaria, in August 1552, by which, after much altercation on both sides, it was finally concluded that the Lutherans should have the free exercise of their religion in all time coming, without the least let or molestation, either from the ecclesiastical or imperial courts. It is this treaty of Passaw, thus wrought out by Maurice's outwitting the Emperor in his own arts of cunning and dissimulation,

tion which, after more than thirty years of unwearied struggle, laid the foundation of that mixt system of religious establishment which Germany has enjoyed ever since. LETTER
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I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

The Reformation checked by the death of Edward VI. of England—State of Affairs in Scotland—Labours of John Knox and other Preachers—Politics of the Court favourable to the Re-forming Interest—Reflections on that Subject.

WHILE the reformation in Germany stood in the situation I have mentioned in the preceding letter, and was continuing to make considerable progress in Scotland, it was threatened with a severe check in the neighbouring kingdom, by the premature death of the young Edward. This hopeful Prince had succeeded his father Henry; and though then but ten years of age, had discovered great knowledge of, and affection for, the reformation which

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his father had begun, by throwing off the papal supremacy. In this disposition he was well supported by his council, of whom his uncle the Duke of Somerset, a zealous and sensible patron of the reformation, was declared chief, with the title of Protector. Accordingly, in the year 1548, a committee of select Bishops and divines was appointed by the convocation, to examine and reform the offices of the church, and did in consequence of that appointment compile and set forth a new office of communion, which still goes by the name of the first liturgy of Edward VI. and of which this character is given by authority, in answer to the Devonshire petitions, that "whatsoever is contained in that book, either for baptism, mass, confirmation, or service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the Realm devised, by God's word confirmed." In a year or two after, this liturgy was revised, and at the desire of some foreign divines, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and some others, whom Archbishop Cranmer had invited over, alterations were made in some material articles, especially in what regarded the administration of the Eucharist: And with these alterations it was published in a second form, which is in substance what the church of England uses at this day; but whether preferable to the first, or not, is a question that needs not be debated here. All the statutes of the late reign, which had hitherto cramped the intended reformation, particularly that severe one respecting the six articles, were repealed, and most of the old primitive liberties restored. Indeed the King, or rather

rather his counsellors, retained the supremacy **LETTER**
 which had been wrested from the Pope, and **XXXIII.**
 which as flowing from, or connected with the
 temporalities, no doubt belonged more properly
 to the English crown than to the Roman mitre,
 tho' with respect to pure spirituals it was justly
 due to neither. However, these were hopeful
 beginnings, and had the King lived a few years
 longer, things might have been conducted in
 such a manner as might have been equally ho-
 nourable to both church and state. But his
 death, as I said, was a melancholy interruption,
 and formed a prospect the most opposite that
 could have been imagined.

I return now to our own country, where we
 left our Bishops and clergy acting or attempting
 to act in something like their own sphere, by
 holding synods, and publishing catechetical in-
 structions for checking the new doctrines, and
 retaining the people in the old communion.—
 Hitherto it may be said, the balance was pretty
 even between the two contenders, and the
 awakening zeal of the established clergy in the
 one scale seemed, if not to downweigh, at least to
 equiponderate the reforming principles of the
 dissenters in the other. But from this time, by
 some means or other, we shall see the esta-
 blishment losing ground, and the other side, we
 may be sure, would gain what their adversaries
 lost. The Governor, tho' of himself not a bad
 man, was weak and irresolute, and his brother
 the Primate, who had the entire management
 of him, was more inclined to consult his pre-
 sent ease and pleasure, than to prosecute such
 methods of either force or flattery as were ne-
 cessary, in the then situation of things, for rec-
 tifying

management into her own
nor, as might be expected,
lish the proposal when it wa
But in end being persuaded
allured by the honours and
King of France offered him
acquiesce, and the Queen-m
sion from her daughter, was
on the twelfth of April 1554.

This change, it might ha
would have quashed the reso
tirely, as besides the new Reg
cation, she was known to b
nected with and influenced b
Guise and Lorrain, who were t
to add to the fears of the re
Queen of England, Mary, da
VIII. by his first wife, had alrea
est manner declared her wari
the papal interest, and had re
her father and brother had for n
years been doing against it. Y
uncertain is the face of human
these two circumstances, tho' ou
ring as it were

with a greater number of her French countrymen than was agreeable to the native subjects of the realm; and by this impolitic step, alienated the minds of many of the nobility, who, tho' loyally enough affected, could not brook such a visible neglect, and thereupon either joined themselves to the reformers, or became careless and indifferent in the public service. And, which increased the general discontent, she was advised by her foreign counsellors, to propose the laying a yearly tax upon the laiges, for keeping up a regular army, under pretence of relieving the nobles from personal attendance, unless upon any important emergency. This proposal was received with the utmost indignation, and about three hundred of the lesser Barons met at Edinburgh, and boldly remonstrated against it; on which the scheme was prudently abandoned, but the alarm it gave left an unfavourable impression on the minds of the people.

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The Regent herself did not want penetration, nor was she of an oppressive disposition. But her natural connexions and foreign counsels led her many times, contrary to her own judgment and inclination, into disagreeable undertakings, which raised a jealousy against her, and thereby strengthened the religious opposition which had hitherto been but in a languid state. On the other hand, the Queen of England having put on a resolution to extirpate what she thought a most damnable heresy out of her dominions, by the long practised method of fire and faggot, as many of the reforming preachers as could get out of her power, fled for their lives, some to Germany, others to Switzerland and Geneva, and such of them as were Scotchmen came back

over to Friesland, where he
and was twice sent by the
land with a commission to
in 1554, after which he
here, and continued to pre-
were willing to resort to
told, were neither few nor

But he who made the great
these preachers, and gave rise
was the renowned John Knox
been eight years out of Scotland
it in the end of harvest 1554
reformer, we have already seen
company, who upon the arrival
of St. Andrews in 1547, had
er to France, where he was
leys and elsewhere, till the
was released. Yet it is observed
er of his life, which is placed
that goes under his name, speaking
“ing constrained to leave his
“by the persecution of the
“the professors of the truth
ing his voluntary consorting
of Cardinal B.

true or false, had no concern. Knox himself tells us, that many of these prisoners were released at the intercession of the Queen Dowager, and tho' he does not expressly mention himself being of that number, there is no doubt to be made but he was. If so, how ungrateful was it in him to treat her character with such scurrilous incivility, as would be unbecoming from any pen, much more from a person of such high pretensions to piety and godliness? For this reason, it has been thought that Knox himself was not the author of that history, tho' some of his modern admirers are of a different opinion, and yet find no fault with the want of gratitude and good breeding displayed in it.

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Be in this what may, the history tells us, that on his release from his confinement he came over to England, where he was first appointed preacher at Berwick, then at Newcastle; thence he was called to London, and remained in these Southern parts till the death of Edward VI. When on that event he left England, he went to Geneva, and there continued some time at his private studies, till he was called by a congregation of English refugees assembled at Frankfort to be one of their preachers, which call he obeyed, tho' unwillingly, "at the commandment, he says, "of that notable servant of God John Calvin." It will by some be thought no small compliment to Calvin's memory, that he was so reverentially obeyed by a man of Mr. Knox's standing; one who had officiated in the church of England, and boasted of having refused a Bishoprick in it; and one too who was not of the most compliant or mannerly temper to some who might have been reckoned his superiors in more respects than one.

His

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His after conduct gives ground to suspect that his obeying this call had been agreeable to his own humour, which seems to have been pretty much of the wandering cast, otherwise Calvin's command had not been so readily hearkened to: Or perhaps Mr. Knox found it prudent to comply, lest on his refusal Calvin should make his continuance in Geneva rather inconvenient for him, as his influence there was already become formidable to all who offended, or differed from him. This the unhappy Michael Servetus had lately felt to his fatal experience. * And the part acted on this occasion by the great Genevan Reformer may serve to account in some measure for that excessive rigour of discipline which his pupil Knox in the days of his power would have been introducing into Scotland, as sanctified by "that notable servant of God, *John Calvin*." Indeed this petty state of Geneva, the now so much admired model of liberty both civil and religious, soon made itself conspicuous for such acts of severity and

* This man was a Spaniard, and in 1531 had published a book in Latin with this title, "Of the errors about the Trinity, seven books," containing some opinions respecting this mystery which differed from the then received explications: Tho' what these opinions were, cannot now be well ascertained, as the most of his writings were burnt by Calvin's order, and are very scarce at this day: Only, from what distant mention is made of him in some of the Socinian writers, who were then beginning to make a noise, it would appear that he was none of that tribe.—However so it was, that coming to Geneva in the course of his peregrinations, he had the hardiness to hold a disputation on this subject with Calvin, who, instead of confuting him by argument, got him judicially condemned and publicly burnt as an heretic, October 27, 1553, and not only so, but he likewise openly justified that act of severity in a book which he published at the time, to shew, that Magistrates may warrantably inflict capital punishments upon heretics.

oppression,

oppression, as in a monarchical government would have been called despotic tyranny; and all this chiefly owing to the zeal and influence of that popular demagogue, * who still has the glory, as it is reckoned here, of having first instilled the true principles of what is called liberty into our countryman John Knox, to whom I now return.

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Whatever were his motives for leaving Geneva at Calvin's command, to Frankfort he actually went: Where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to find fault with the liturgy which the English refugees had brought from home with them, and raised such a division on that account, as could not be healed but by consulting the Oracle at Geneva. Accordingly Knox, and Whittingham, an Englishman of the same stamp, but who was afterwards dean of Durham in Queen Elizabeth's time, were employed to send a description of the English li-

* As early as 1542, when Calvin was scarce warm in his new settlement, he brought an accusation against Amy Perrin the Captain General of the city, who had been very active about the change of religion in 1535, and got the man publicly beheaded on the stone of the great altar which had been removed out of the cathedral church, and carried to the common place of execution to serve as a scaffold for that purpose. His unrelenting prosecutions of Bolfec and Bertelier for some charges against his character in France; his treatment of Alciat Blandrata and other refugees, who had fled to Geneva as an asylum from the Popish persecutions in their own countries, but had the misfortune to differ from him in some abstruse points of theology; and his magisterial intermeddling in the affairs of other churches of the protestant name in Poland, Transylvania, Germany, and even in England all the time of Edward VI. discover such a domineering spirit, and such pretensions to a certain degree of dictatorial infallibility, as were never exceeded by any Pope, in proportion to the difference of dignity, and extent of command.

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H

turgy

Anglicana liturgia, qualem
 “ video fuisse tolerabiles inept
 “ liturgy, such as you describe
 “ been many improper thing
 “ may be tolerated.” Notwith-
 favourable sentence, Knox with-
 count of his turbulent humour
 fort, where all the good he
 short stay was the rending of the
 gregation there, and to return
 neva, from whence, as we have
 visit this year to his own coun-

A.D. 1555. His first appearance was at Hereford, where
 he preached in a private house, and
 told, a good resort of people
 attend his instructions. His goal
 to dissuade his hearers from bear-
 mafs, or partaking of “ the
 “ ments.” In prosecution of
 when it was urged, in defence
 ing a little to the times, that
 advice of St. James and the elders
 went into the temple, under co-
 vow, after a sufficiency of argu-
 ment.

Spotswood,
 p. 93.

“Holy Ghost,” and gives as a reason of thus doubting, because the event was not such as they expected: Thus plainly giving it as his opinion, that the motions of the divine Spirit are to be judged of by the outward success, and that consequently what Paul did at this time was not good, because it did not succeed: Which, whether it be a sound maxim in divinity or not, needs no depth of criticism to discover. But it was a favourite maxim with Knox and his party, that whatever attempt on their own side prospered, was therefore lawful, or if at any time they did not meet with success, it was owing to some defect or other about the undertakers, not to any sinfulness in the undertaking itself. Thus the murder of Cardinal Beton was with them not only an allowable, but even a godly deed: And the calamities which the murderers afterwards fell into, were interpreted not as a punishment of the murder, but of the licentious and dissolute lives which they for some time led, in spite of all Mr Knox’s godly exhortations among them. This was an useful tenet at that time, and has been of no small service upon sundry occasions to their followers. Indeed the bringing it forward upon the question of going to the mass, seems to have been only a superfluous effusion of the man’s inward sentiments, without any necessity in point of argument: For his first answer, upon his principles, was conclusive enough, that the Apostles’ affair had nothing to do with what it was alledged for, “To go to the temple and pay vows” had once been commanded, which idolatry never was: But their mass, from the original was, and still remains odious idolatry: There-

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1phere of his labours, forsool
ship, as being both superstitio
and began to form themselves
ties for assembling with the re
How or where the rest of them
many, were employed, we have
as Mr. Knox appears to hav
actor in all that was yet goin
the little that was doing alar
and drove them to the nece
acting in some way or other.
they summoned Knox to appea
of the Black Friars in Edinbu
teenth of May. But, whether c
formality in the summons, or
were afraid of danger from the
port he was like to have, the d
And Mr. Knox preached that v
burgh to a greater audience than
Bishop of Dunkeld's lodgings too
out ten days. This was inde
and plainly shewed how sure h

Yet in the midst of all this appearance of success, it would seem the man's roving spirit could not rest; or perhaps he was not satisfied with all the lengths he had hitherto carried his point. For having received letters of invitation from his old faction at Frankfort, which had now set up at Geneva, he resolved, against the most pressing entreaties of his new friends, to visit that city once more, promising at the same time to return, how soon the godly in Scotland should be pleased to recal him. So in July 1556 he again left his native country, under colour of a ministerial call, which he pretended he could not in conscience disobey. But he should have remembered that the first call of any sort he ever had, was to a congregation in St. Andrews, who therefore had a better title to his labours than either Frankfort or Geneva, and where he, who went so much upon a popular call, might in safety, as he ought in duty, have exercised his ministry, as well as at Edinburgh or Calder or Kyle, or any of the places which, he tells us, he visited, without the least intimation of his looking near St. Andrews all the time. The truth is, the man seems to have had secret views of his own, which he did not chuse to disclose even to his intimates, and therefore thought proper to conceal under the common cloak for all such secrets, the cloak of conscience.

Now while Mr. Knox is absent, and the reforming work seemingly at a stand, for want of his active zeal, let me express my surprise at the progress I find it has already made in opposition to the governing powers of our own kingdom, and under the melancholy prospect
of

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of being borne down by the concurrent assistance of the now entirely Popish government in England. There was certainly ground to fear a combination of this kind between the bigotted Mary of England, who had in a short time crushed the reformation at home, and our Dowager Mary, now clothed with supreme authority, and stimulated to such an enterprize by two Cardinal brothers, as well as likely to be supported in it by a powerful and persecuting monarch, the King of France. I know, all may be and is ascribed to an interposing Providence; and I certainly should be the last man to contend the point. But the history of the times enables us to trace out some external circumstances, concurrent with or subservient to the will of providence in this affair, and from which we may draw this important observation, that, as worldly politics had been the constant supporters of the papal grandeur, so at this time they were the undesigning instruments to give it that shock, which at last effected its final overthrow in Britain.

Had the two Marys, both equally devoted to the old religion, tho' not of equal austerity of disposition, laid their heads cordially together in defence of it, the one with all the force of England, and the other with even but half the force of Scotland, which at least she had at her command, Mr. Knox would have found more difficulty than he did, with all his oratory and impetuosity, to get such a footing at first, and at last to bring matters to such a bearing. But this conjunction of two such malignant planets was prevented by their early and continued jarring in politics. The Queen of England, by her marriage
with

with the Emperor's son and heir Philip King of Spain, was thereby involved in all his disputes and wars with the King of France; who on the other hand engaged our Mary to espouse his quarrel, and take off the weight of England from him. So that the two Queens, however agreeing in attachment to what they believed to be the true church, were divided both in interest and affection by reasons of state, and had neither leisure nor inclination to unite their forces even in such a favourite cause. Besides, there was another project, which our Regent had long had in her eye, and the success of which was now drawing near to be determined. Our young Sovereign Queen Mary, whom we have heard little of, since her going to France, had in that polite court got such an education as, meeting with all the embellishments of nature, rendered her the most accomplished lady both in body and mind, that was to be seen in Europe. And as she was now advancing towards the time of life which in Princesses of royal blood is thought fit for matrimony it was the earnest wish of her mother our Regent, and of her principal Tutor the King of France, from most weighty considerations, to have her bestowed upon his son and heir Francis who was much of the same age. The bringing this important business to a happy issue engrossed all our Queen Regent's thoughts, and required the utmost address and management, in neither of which she was defective, to procure the consent of the estates of the realm, which, they told her, was necessary to give the proposed marriage a legal sanction. This put her upon the expedient of soothing and courting all parties, both to prevail

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nine commissioners,* from the
and gentry were sent over to
powers of ratification, before w
was married to the Dauphin on
1558, by the Cardinal of Bour
of Rouen, in the cathedral church
at Paris: And a few days after
oners took the oath of allegian
Dauphin and the Queen, in nar
estates of the kingdom.

But still there remained anothe
obtained, besides the possession of t
son, and that was the *Matrimo*
the Dauphin, by which all the r
to the husband of a Queen we
in his person. To procure this
art and management of the Queen
her having this object in view, i
that moderation, by which she
keep the balance even between
parties in the kingdom. When t
ed her to keep down the reform
formers

begging them to have patience till the Parliament should grant the matrimonial crown, and assuring them, that then she would do what she could to gratify them.

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Thus two of the most unfavourable conjunctures, as might have been thought, for the reforming interest, the marriage of the Queen of England with the heir of Spain, and of the Queen of Scotland with the heir of France, all of them avowed defenders of the papal cause, and professed enemies to any thing that looked like an attack upon their religious system, did yet by a secret direction combine together, to favour the first open attempt that was made towards a reformation in Scotland. So wonderful are the events of human affairs, and such a manifest disproportion do we many times discover, between what we are apt to call the cause, and the effect. Let us take every thing of this kind as we find it, and admire the inscrutable wisdom of the Most High, who keeps the disposal of events in his own hands, and turns all human counsels to the accomplishment of his own great and good purposes.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R S

*John Knox continues to support
They subscribe a Bond of Union
selves the Congregation—
them—Burning of Walter
—Various demands of the
Conduct of the Queen Regent
Consequences of her Breach of*

WHEN John Knox left
tioned in my last letter
ing business was carried on,
much spirit, as when he was
few of his party ; by Harlaw
Leith and Edinburgh, by a Paul
Dundee, and in the West, by a
old Carmelite Friar. These are

ed the Regent to call the preachers before the council, and arraign them for convening the lieges against her authority. But when the day of appearance was come, such numbers of people flocked together, and the Queen was so daringly menaced by some of the ringleaders that the diet was discharged, and a promise given that the preachers should meet with no harm. And now the party, finding their strength on the growing hand, thought it time to put Knox in mind of his promise at parting, and to recall him to his former charge among them: Which they did by a letter dated from Stirling, and signed by the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, John Erskin of Dun, and James Stuart Prior of St. Andrews. When Knox received this letter, he again consulted Calvin and his colleagues, who all with one consent gave sentence, that he could not refuse that vocation, "unless he would declare himself rebellious to his God, and unmerciful to his country:" On which he returned answer, "that he would visit them with all expedition, so soon as he might put order to that dear flock committed to his charge." What a pother this man still makes about calls and charges; yet how frequently he flies from one flock to another? Since he got out of confinement in France, he had been in Berwick, in Newcastle, in London, and elsewhere in England, in Frankfort, in Geneva, in Edinburgh and various parts of Scotland, back to Geneva, and now on his return to Scotland again, connected, on his own principles, with nine or ten different flocks, and all in the space of seven or eight years. This looks as if he had been an Apostle indeed, entrusted with the care of

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Keith.p.65.

March 12.
A.D. 1557.

mination at this junctur
ence to the invitation,
his way as Dieppe in Fra
ber, he found letters of
ing him not to continu
all things were at a stan
the reformers, being un
affairs might take, begar
cure to be allowed the
their own manner in priv
push too hastily for gre
failing in the attempt p
upon the main seems to
resolution ; and if adhered
ed their point in a mor
able manner than what
Knox thought otherwise,
letter he wrote from Diep
mixture of upbraidings ar
with a good deal of boal
portance, he concludes v
mind, that " the reformat
" publick enormities app
" the clergy or chief ru
TELL

In this bond they engage to stand by one another at all hazards, in defence and maintenance of "faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to the people." And here for the first time they distinguish themselves and their adherents by the new title of *The Congregation*, no less than seven times repeated, and with this singular speciality too, as being the congregation of the Lord, in opposition to the as yet established church, whom they are pleased to call the congregation of Satan. From this time we shall find the *Congregation* and the *Lords of the Congregation* much talked of in our annals for some years, till they got themselves settled on a more secure and enlarged footing: and then we see them dropping this new coined translation of *Ecclesia*, and returning to the old one of the *Kirk* or *Church*.—Soon after subscribing this bond, the Lords and others that concurred with them convened together, and after deliberation on what was fittest to be done, they concluded upon the two following articles, which I shall set down at full length, as being the first regular appearance that our original reformers have made, and of use to shew something of their genuine principles, when left to their own unbiassed sentiments.

1. "It is thought expedient, advised and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the parish churches, with the lessons of the old and new testament, conform to the order of the book of Common Prayer. And if the Curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them read the same: And if they be not, or refuse, that
" the

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LETTER " the most qualified in the parish use and read
XXXIV. " the same.

2. " It is thought necessary that doctrine,
" preaching, and interpretation of scripture be had
" and used privatley in quiet houses, without great
" conventions of the people thereto, while after-
" ward that God move the Prince to grant
" public preaching by faithful and true minis-
" ters."

On the first of these articles it has been debated, whether the book of common prayer there recommended was the prayer-book of England, or the form of Geneva, which, when it appeared, was called the Common Order: And tho' for my own part, I am convinced that it was the English book, either first or second of Edward VI. yet I join in opinion with Bishop Keith, that the decision of the controversy either way is not material: Since it is evident on the very face of the article, that a common form of prayer to be read publicly in the church was then the known and desired mode of worship, and that our reformation was begun with, and founded upon a liturgy of some kind and in some shape or other. This is the main point in question now-a-days on the head of worship; and the example of the *Congregation* at this time, as far as it has weight, clearly points out what side of the question they favour. I say, as far as this example has weight: For I produce it only as *argumentum ad hominem*, not as essential to the merits of the cause, which can be defended without it. Indeed the lawfulness and expediency of set forms of prayer in the public worship of God, is a theme which has been largely discussed by many an able pen, and is not much controverted now by the sensible part of those who do not use any.

From

From the second article it is observable, as I LETTER
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took notice in the history of Mr. Rough, that in those days, preaching and hearing sermons was not, as now, reckoned a part, much less the whole of public worship. The prayers were to be read publicly in the parish kirks on Sundays and holidays: Preaching was to be performed privately in quiet houses, without great convention of people, and no fixed time mentioned, but only, it would seem, when it could be conveniently done. Had both these parts of this fundamental ordinance of our Scottish reformation been duly attended to, it had prevented much of those confusions and disorders, which that age and the next saw our country groaning under for a number of years. And had Mr. Knox on his return confined himself to the observance of it, as he well and warrantably might have done, the laudable work might, and in all probability would, have been carried on and perfected in a more laudable way, and to as good purpose. It is true, such a quiet compliance with this prudent and peaceable appointment would have lost him much of that applause which the "pithiness of his conceived prayers," and the fervency of his bold preachings, procured him among his admirers both then and since; tho' to balance that loss, it would have saved much of that reproach and obloquy, just or not, which his memory lies under with many to this day.

In consequence of this new determination among the reformers, the Earl of Argyle took the Carmelite Douglas to be his chaplain, and carried him to the Highlands with him. At this appearance of an avowed breaking off from the establishment, the Primate Hamilton was highly

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highly offended, and wrote to Argyle in an authoritative manner, but with more discretion and softness than had been usual in such cases before, desiring him to put away Douglas, and promising to furnish him with a catholic chaplain in that heretic's stead. To which the Earl returned a decent and mannerly answer, thanking his Lordship for his professions of kindness, but declaring his resolution to abide by what he had done, and not be kept any longer in that state of ignorance from which he was now getting free. In this correspondence, even as recorded by Knox, we find nothing uncharacteristic on either side. The Archbishop on the one hand holds it forth as his duty, and within his office, to suppress heresy, and prevent schism, and the Earl, on the other hand, expresses his abhorrence of heresy or faction, and his readiness to produce his chaplain at proper time and place, to give account of his faith and doctrine, whether it be conform to the true standard or not. And both of them behave to one another with more deference and outward politeness than had appeared from the Episcopal side for some years past, or was shewn to the Episcopal side some years after. Yet, soon after this correspondence, the Primate, with a view no doubt to terrify these insulting preachers, gave way to the rage of persecution, and renewed the old rigour, at a very improper time indeed, and in a very imprudent manner.

One Walter Miln, who in his younger years had travelled into Germany, and upon his return had been settled Priest at the kirk of Lunan in Angus, had, upon an information of heresy in the time of Cardinal Beton, been forced to abandon

abandon his charge, and had absconded ever since : LETTER
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 But being now apprehended in the town of Dy-
 fart, he was carried to St. Andrews, and being
 brought before the Archbishop and some of his
 suffragans, was by them sentenced to the flames,
 and burnt accordingly, on the twenty eighth of
 April 1558. He was a worn-out decrepit man,
 of eighty two years of age, yet expressed himself
 both on his trial and at the stake, with a cou-
 rage and composure that amazed his very ene-
 mies, and among the last words that he spoke,
 hoped and wished he might be the last who should
 suffer death in the land, in such a way and up-
 on such an account. The condemnation of this
 old man, who had been in a manner forgotten,
 and by the course of nature had not long to
 live, was as foolish a step as the clergy had
 taken of a long while. Yet no warning had any
 effect upon them ; For while the resentment of
 this late stroke of ecclesiastic severity was hot in
 people's minds, they were so thoughtless as at-
 tempt their yearly procession thro' Edinburgh, on
 the feast of St. Giles, the patron Saint of the
 city, with the usual pomp of carrying an image
 of the saint in great state thro' the streets, which
 upon this occasion they were obliged to borrow
 from the Gray Friars, the town's image having
 been stolen some days before. But the mob
 soon plucked it from the bearer, and threw it in
 the dirt, then broke it in pieces, and spoiled the
 whole pageantry. What a ridiculous blunder
 was this in the ecclesiastics, when they knew
 what a torrent of opposition was now every where
 let loose against images, thus to insult and in-
 flame an ungovernable populace by the practice
 of an idle ceremony, which might have been

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forborn without any hurt to either their interest,  
or their religion?

However, when they had recovered from the fright of this assault, they put on a face of confidence, and appointed a meeting to be held at Edinburgh in November following. All the intervening time, both parties were busy enough in looking after their respective concerns, and the Queen Regent still endeavouring to manage and keep in with both, tho' with as much of a bias to the old way as was consistent with her present views. The congregation on their part drew up a supplication to her in a strange mixed style of submission and threatening; and to the supplication they added the following demands.

Keith, p. 80. 1. "That it may be lawful to meet publicly  
"or privately to common prayers in the vulgar  
"tongue. 2. That it shall be lawful to any  
"qualified person to interpret scripture at such  
"meetings. 3. That baptism and the Lord's  
"supper be administered in the vulgar tongue,  
"and this last in both kinds, according to our  
"Saviour's institution. 4. That the wicked and  
"scandalous lives of churchmen be reformed  
"according to the rules contained in the new  
"testament, the writings of the ancient fathers,  
"and the godly and approved laws of the Em-  
"peror Justinian, which three they are willing  
"shall decide the controversy between them  
"and the clergy: So that the grave and godly  
"face of the primitive church may be restor-  
"ed, ignorance expelled, and true doctrine and  
"good manners may once again appear in the  
"church in this realm."

These demands are certainly very reasonable;  
and the proposing such an authentic and or-  
thodox

thodox standard for deciding the controversy, discovers what true Catholick principles prevailed as yet among the reformers, notwithstanding of their complaints against the establishment, which they wish to be rectified, not thrown down.— What a pity it was, that the strain of the supplication was not corresponding to the subject of it? But this was still the misfortune, owing perhaps to a national fieryness of temper, that the disagreeable manner counteracted the reasonable matter of their petitions, and was more effectual in disgusting, than the other was in gaining over, those in power to whom they were addressed. The last of these demands seems indeed to have an invidious aspect, in throwing such a random aspersions on the clergy in general. But that there was too much ground for it, appears from the complaints of even their own writers,\* which sufficiently shew that the demand

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K 2

\* There is extant a paper about this time, of date January 5, 1559, under the title of the counsel given by the Dean and chapter of Aberdeen to my Lord Bishop of Aberdeen the ordinary, (who was then William Gordon, of the family of Huntly) at his desire for reformation to be made, &c. and signed by Robert Erskin Dean, and nine of the Chapter, among whom is John Leslie then Parson of Oyne, and afterwards Bishop of Ross: In which they advise “ that my Lord of Aberdeen cause the kirk-  
“ men within his dioces to reform themselves in all their scandalous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines  
“ as well great as small, under the pains contained in the law  
“ and acts provincial, and the Chapter shall do sicklike among  
“ them, as well on themselves, as their servants and those under  
“ their jurisdiction:” And then after some other particulars they conclude thus, “ And that the premises by the help of  
“ God may take the better effect, the Dean and Chapter  
“ humbly and devoutly pray and exhort my Lord their ordinary,  
“ for the honour of God, relief of his own conscience, and well  
“ of



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mand here made was not the result of ill-nature, but of a general necessity.

The ecclesiastic convention which met at Edinburgh in November 1558, agreed so far to these demands, as to allow prayers to be used, and the sacraments to be administered in the vulgar tongue, provided the reformers would keep up the mass, and acknowledge Purgatory and praying to the saints. But this they neither could nor would submit to; as indeed what was thus required of them, was far more material and interesting to both parties, tho' from different views, than all that was granted to them. The Regent for her part kept them in good hopes, and to serve her political ends allowed them for the present to have their worship in their own language, with this only exception, that, for preventing tumults they should not assemble publicly in Edinburgh or Leith. With this concession they seemed to be satisfied, and for a while behaved so quietly, as not even to allow Mr. Douglas, Argyle's Chaplain, to officiate in Leith as he proposed. Soon after this the Parliament met, and the

“ of his diocess, and because all they that are contrarious to  
 “ the religion christian, promise faithful obedience to the Prelates, so that they amend their own lives and their inferiours  
 “ conform to the law of God and holy church, that therefore  
 “ his Lordship would be so good as shew good and edifying example in special, in removing and discharging himself of the  
 “ company of the gentlewoman with whom he is greatly slandered,  
 “ without which be done, the obstinate say they cannot accept counsel and correction from him who will not correct himself, and  
 “ that his Lordship will cause his servants reform themselves,  
 “ because next himself it is meet he should begin at his own household : all which being done, they verily believe all shall  
 “ come well to the honour of God and reformation of the Diocess of Aberdeen, and they promise his Lordship their hearty  
 “ concurrence to the utmost of their power.”

Congregation

congregation designed to present a supplication to that supreme court, much to the same purpose with that which had been laid before the convocation. But the Queen Regent, by her usual excuse of the necessity she was under, to court the ecclesiastical state for their consent in the affair of the matrimonial crown, and promising to befriend them when that point was gained, got them diverted from presenting it at that time.— Yet, to prevent any handle which might be taken against them from their silence on this occasion, they drew up and offered a protestation, which was indeed read in Parliament, but was not, as they desired, inserted in the records. Only the Regent told them she should remember their protest, and put a good end to all things that were in controversy among them. In this protestation, as recorded by Knox, there is one article which does not altogether correspond with the pacific professions that have hitherto appeared in this reforming congregation, but rather seems to threaten the violence and disorder that followed. For they protest, 3dly “that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who do now most humbly seek all to be reformed by an order. But rather whatever inconvenience shall follow for lack of order taken, may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.” I would be almost inclined to think that this writer or his interpolator had fabricated this article of his own head, as I am sorry to find such a turbulent and imprudent declaration making part of a paper which, in imitation

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XXXIV.

Spotswood,  
p. 120.



## L E T T E R XXXIV.

*John Knox continues to support the Reformers——  
They subscribe a Bond of Union, and style them-  
selves the Congregation——Proceedings against  
them——Burning of Walter Miln, an aged Priest  
——Various demands of the Congregation——  
Conduct of the Queen Regent towards them——  
Consequences of her Breach of Promise.*

**W**HEN John Knox left Scotland, as mentioned in my last letter, the preaching business was carried on, tho' not with so much spirit, as when he was present, by a few of his party; by Harlaw and Willocks in Leith and Edinburgh, by a Paul Methven about Dundee, and in the West, by a John Douglas an old Carmelite Friar. These are all that we hear of for some time; and no great danger, it might have been thought, was to be apprehended from them. Yet the Bishops, seeing them beginning to form stated meetings, and fearing their increase if not checked in time, petitioned

ed the Regent to call the preachers before the council, and arraign them for convening the lieges against her authority. But when the day of appearance was come, such numbers of people flocked together, and the Queen was so daringly menaced by some of the ringleaders that the diet was discharged, and a promise given that the preachers should meet with no harm. And now the party, finding their strength on the growing hand, thought it time to put Knox in mind of his promise at parting, and to recall him to his former charge among them: Which they did by a letter dated from Stirling, and signed by the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, John Erskin of Dun, and James Stuart Prior of St. Andrews. When Knox received this letter, he again consulted Calvin and his colleagues, who all with one consent gave sentence, that he could not refuse that vocation, "unless he would declare himself rebellious to his God, and unmerciful to his country:" On which he returned answer, "that he would visit them with all expedition, so soon as he might put order to that dear flock committed to his charge." What a pother this man still makes about calls and charges; yet how frequently he flies from one flock to another? Since he got out of confinement in France, he had been in Berwick, in Newcastle, in London, and elsewhere in England, in Frankfort, in Geneva, in Edinburgh and various parts of Scotland, back to Geneva, and now on his return to Scotland again, connected, on his own principles, with nine or ten different flocks, and all in the space of seven or eight years. This looks as if he had been an Apostle indeed, entrusted with the care of

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XXXIV.

Keith.p.65.

March 12.

A.D. 1557.

LETTER  
XXXIV.

as confessedly different from the old eucharistical service of that church, and unsupported by the liturgical practice of the first five hundred years, it was no advantage, in point of argument, to our reforming society, to be so forward as they were, in painting it out under the odious colours of scriptural idolatry. For tho' that stretch of declamation served to inflame the minds of the vulgar, who could not enter into the merits of the cause, it could not but harden the judicious and sensible part of the people, to hear such a sacred and solemn affair spoken of in such a disgusting and irreverent manner. And if the zeal of reformation had led them to employ the fervor of their eloquence against every presumptive species of idolatry, there was one at that time too prevalent among themselves, as well as among their opponents, which they would have been as laudably employed in rooting out of people's hearts, even covetousness, which, without any force of interpretation, an Apostle expressly says is idolatry. Be in this what will, it was a mistaken confidence on both sides which, as I said; prevented a proper discussion of the question; and, as is common in all such cases, both parties boasted of their own success in the unavailing correspondence.

About the same time too, and with a view still to settle matters, the Queen Regent advised the Primate to call a national council of all the Prelates and learned clergy in the realm, that they might strive to provide some method for healing the present sores, and restoring peace to the church and state. Accordingly they met at Edinburgh, on the second of March; and this was the last national synod of that church that ever Scotland saw.

law. To this fynod the congregation gave in LETTER XXXIV.  
 some articles of reformation, desiring 1. "That  
 "publick prayers be used, and the sacraments  
 "ministered, in the vulgar tongue. 2. That  
 "Bishops be elected by consent of the gentry  
 "of the diocess, and parish priests by consent of  
 "the parishioners. 3. That such incumbents as  
 "are insufficient for discharging the pastoral of-  
 "fices, be deprived of their benefices, and others  
 "put into their places, who shall be found  
 "qualified and willing to instruct the people by  
 "constant and daily preaching. 4. That all im-  
 "moral or unlearned churchmen be excluded  
 "from administration of the sacraments, and all  
 "other ecclesiastical function." Here again we  
 meet with nothing that can be called altoge-  
 ther unreasonable, or could be said to look like a  
 design of a total breaking off from church obe-  
 dience, or overturning the old model of church  
 government. And it might have been hoped, that  
 so many neighbouring examples of late would  
 have induced the fynod to pay some regard to  
 these requests. But nothing of that kind had any  
 weight with them: For to the first they answer-  
 ed, "that they could not dispense with using any  
 "language but Latin in the publick prayers, as  
 "being appointed by the church under most se-  
 "vere penalties, which cannot be infringed with-  
 "out violating the majesty of God." To the  
 second, "that what is decreed by the Canon law,  
 "concerning the election of Bishops and Pastors,  
 "ought to be maintained entire, because the elec-  
 "tion of Bishops being a privilege of the crown  
 "with consent of the Pope, to determine any thing  
 "in opposition thereto when the Queen was so  
 "young, would be indiscreet to her, and a trea-  
 Vol. II. L. sonable

newed a fixed resolution  
concession. In the article  
of the clergy, they had  
from what they pretended  
young and absent sovereign,  
ged it with bringing in  
non law, and the consent  
but an artful colouring  
as they knew how the Pope  
in fact frequently exercised  
of benefices, not only with  
the sovereign's consent. I  
request, whether proper to  
a proof that hitherto they  
the office, title, or precedence  
but only in this, as in  
desired to have their election  
their office, put under what  
and necessary regulations :  
ing formal notice of it, even  
a refusal, is a testimony that  
rel with them on that score  
of intending a total rejection  
ever, this peremptory de-

the tumults and irreparable disorders which so soon followed, and which, as I observed before, from the third article of their publick protestation, seem to have been conditionally threatened.

LETTER XXXIV.

For now the Regent, having carried her two capital projects, by keeping pretty fair hitherto with both parties, and finding the churchmen, whom she always favoured, beginning to exert themselves with what she thought a becoming spirit and vigour, resolved to support them with the royal authority. And when the congregation sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, to solicit the continuance of her promised indulgence, she gave them such an answer as made them apprehend a storm ready to fall upon them, which was likewise hastened, sooner perhaps than otherwise it would have been, by one of their ministers being hardy enough to preach publicly in the town-kirk of Perth. This raised her indignation to the highest pitch; and when Lord Ruthven, the Provost of the town, whom she had ordered to go and chastise these innovations, told her he had no power over people's consciences, she vowed in great wrath to make both him and them repent it, and immediately gave orders, by the advice of her council, to summon all the ministers to appear before her at Stirling on the tenth of May. But when she got account what vast numbers of both gentry and commonalty were preparing to attend their preachers to the diet, she hearkened to the Laird of Dun's intercession, and desired him to persuade them to disperse, with a solemn promise that the diet should not be held, nor any prejudice done to the preachers.

A.D. 1559.



home: Only a few gen  
ministers remained at P  
came, and none of the  
were all denounced reb  
hibited, under pain of t  
bour, or in any shape en  
the worst and most unju  
the Regent took, and w  
it, as it is not likely she  
a step without advice, have  
sequences of it to answer fo  
who was a man universally  
tegrity, was highly offend  
instance of double dealing,  
danger to his own person a  
withdrew with all privacy  
easily apologized for the  
and informed his friends t  
the Regent and council w



## L E T T E R    XXXV.

*John Knox joins the Congregation at Perth—  
And begins the Destruction of the Churches and  
Monasteries—Reflections on these Acts of Vio-  
lence—Further Proceedings of the Congrega-  
tion—Continued Demolition of Churches, &c.  
—The Lords of the Congregation after vari-  
ous Treaties, deprive the Queen of the Regency  
—On the Arrival of Troops from England to  
assist the Congregation, she takes Shelter in the  
Castle of Edinburgh, and dies there.*

**W**HILE the minds of the reformers were in that ferment, which the Queen's breach of promise, and their own danger had occasioned, it happened, (whether luckily or unluckily, let different parties say) that John Knox arrived from France. We had left this champion of the cause some time ago at Dieppe, sadly vexed at the disappointment he had met with, but still waiting a favourable opportunity to renew his

April 10,  
1559.

tant. This was a favour  
who well knew what use  
it had happened unlucki  
written and published a  
" the government of wome  
Protestant Elizabeth was  
as the Popish Mary had  
for to remove the unfavo  
sentiments, which this pul  
sion, and to clear the way  
turn to his own country, h  
to Cecil, Elizabeth's secreta  
his book, not openly retraç  
of it, but softening and p  
with the convenient supposit  
right, on which hypothesis  
" if any think me either en  
" regiment of her whom Go  
" ed, they are utterly deceiv  
" miraculous work of God,  
" flicted by an infirm vesse  
" ledge, and I will obey the  
" potent hand, raising up v  
" his mercy, to subvert  
"


own abilities, on any side of a question which he should see convenient to espouse. LETTER XXXV.

Having therefore, by this seasonable piece of sophistical flattery, opened a door for the freedom of getting home, and for answering any other exigencies that might occur, he took his departure from Dieppe, and on the second of May reached Edinburgh, where staying only two nights, he proceeded to Dundee, to comfort the brethren there, and from thence to Perth, where the convention above mentioned had assembled. This was a very critical juncture, and the presence of such a powerful and zealous orator would be most acceptable; so upon the eleventh of May, being called upon to mount the pulpit, he failed not to declaim on the usual theme of idolatry, and to shew what positive precepts there were for destroying all instruments and places of it. Immediately after sermon one of the established clergy very foolishly ventured to expose an image that was in the kirk, to try how the people's affections stood that way, after Knox's vehement harangue on the subject. At this one of the bystanders expressing some disgust, the Priest rashly gave him a blow, and in return the other threw a stone and broke the image. The enraged populace looked upon this as a signal for attack; some fell upon the Priest, who had much ado to escape with his life, others ran to the altar, and defaced whatever they thought had the appearance of superstition. In a little while great numbers assembled, "not of the gentlemen nor of such as were earnest professors," says Knox, "but of the rascally multitude," and finding nothing to do in the town's church, they ran to the Franciscan and Dominican

**LETTER** nican Monasteries, which they burst open, and soon  
**XXXV.** spoiled of all that was in them, leaving nothing  
 but the bare walls. From them they marched  
 in triumph to the Carthusian Monastery, commonly called the Charterhouse, which they plundered in the like manner, and then so completely demolished that noble building, that in two days scarce a vestige of it was to be seen. Mr. Knox  
 with p. 85. boasts much of the disinterestedness of this rascally multitude, as he calls them, in laying no hands on the rich spoil for themselves, "their consciences," he says, "being so beaten with the word, that they had no respect to their own particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry and all places and monuments thereof." And the modern admirers of these doings still lay hold of this, as a glorious instance of self-denial in these conscientious reformers. Tho' after all, there seems to be nothing in it but what may be easily accounted for, from the unpremeditated fury of a thoughtless mob, whether Popish or Protestant, and which has been exemplified by all professions, both before that time and since, upon sundry occasions, where it has been seen, that a present fit of zeal or ill-nature, when it has silenced conscience, has got the better of avarice also.\*

However,

\* Of this, besides what has been in our own day, and within the compass of almost every one's knowledge, we have a quite similar instance that happened in Knox's lifetime, and even among a set of Popish idolaters and image worshippers. In the history of Charles V. by Principal Robertson, we are told, that in the insurrections in Spain, in the beginning of his reign, "a tumultuous spirit seized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities, and tho' their representatives saved themselves by flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houses razed to the ground, and their effects consumed by fire: And such

However the destroying work was now begun ; LETTER  
 and this attempt at Perth, as it was the first fruits XXXV.  
 of Mr. Knox's appearance after his return from   
 exile, before which we find no symptom of such  
 a daring and riotous spirit, so it was an introduc-  
 tion to all the lawless and unchristian violence  
 of the kind that followed. I am far from ap-  
 proving, or pretending to vindicate these mo-  
 nastic institutions, which seem to have been be-  
 gun without necessity, and carried on in such an  
 irregular and unbecoming manner, as gave great  
 offence to all lovers of decency and good order.  
 Yet I cannot help looking upon this horrid me-  
 thod of putting an end to them, as an act of the  
 most savage barbarity, and most palpable injus-  
 tice in the perpetrators, who had no more right,  
 either by the law of God or man, to drive a monk  
 out of his cell, than to take Mr Knox's coat off  
 his back. At the same time, I cannot altogether  
 join in the outcry which the Popish party have  
 made about the sacrilegious guilt of thus des-  
 troying or taking away what had been once given  
 to God : For, before the force of this charge be  
 sustained, it ought to be made appear that God  
 had accepted the donation, lest our Saviour's ap-  
 plication of the pharisaical pretence of *Corban*  
 should hold good, as perhaps, upon enquiry,  
 would be found to have been too often the case,

"such was the horror which the people had conceived against  
 them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in these  
 licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valu-  
 able, that had belonged to them." What word was it, we might  
 ask, that the consciences of these licentious multitudes were beaten  
 with at that time, if indeed they had any pretence to conscience  
 at all, which it is much to be suspected is asleep on every such oc-  
 casion ?

**LETTER** in most of these monastic foundations. It is true, **XXXV.** these buildings and lands were dedicated to religious uses by their devout founders, and so may be thought to have been unalienably appropriated to such purposes. But it is equally true, that such appropriations are things merely external, and not essential to religion as such; and consequently may, without any real prejudice to the substance of it, be separated from it, when and how those in proper authority, whoever they are shall see expedient. Yet that this "rascally multitude" at Perth, I use their own Knox's language, had authority, or were excusable, either before God or man for what they did, I neither can nor ever will acknowledge, tho' it is not to be denied that desirable enough effects have been oftentimes produced even by wicked instruments. In a word, to shut up what may be said on this disagreeable subject, I am for my own part entirely of his mind, who said "he would neither build a monastery, nor destroy one."

After this bold but shameful step towards a reformation at Perth, most of the stranger people we are told went home, and Mr. Knox was left in the town to instruct the flock, because, as he says, and it is the truest character he could give them, whatever meaning he had under it, "they were young and rude in Christ." What the nature of his instructions was, we may judge from the effects they produced. In the meantime, the congregation understanding that the Regent was making preparations for punishing this riotous insurrection, reassembled at Perth, and wrote a letter to her in such terms as, instead of craving pardon for the outrage of a foolish mob, seemed designed rather to vindicate what they had

had done, and openly dare and defy the Magistrate.\* Nor is this much to be wondered at, if we consider that the church, in which they had been bred, had been at pains, thro' a course of years, by exalting the spiritual power above the temporal, to sink the sovereign in the people's eyes, and to diminish the respect due to him, wherever what they were pleased to call religion was concerned. LETTER XXXV.

Besides this letter to the Regent, they wrote also to the commander of the French forces in Scotland, warning him not to proceed to harsh measures against them: And to the Nobility who were at court, justifying what they had done at Perth, as being done at God's commandment, and telling them, that "tho' all authority established by God is good, and to be obeyed of all men, under pain of damnation, yet they ought to understand there is a great difference between the authority, and the persons of those


\* How unlike is this conduct to that of the christian people of Antioch, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the first, after an insult upon his authority by the rascally multitude of the city, in refusing his edicts, and throwing down and defacing the public statues set up in honour of him? And how different is the bullying humour of Knox, (who, we may presume, if not the original framer, was at least concerned in the penning of that provoking letter,) from the amiable and submissive deportment of the Antiochian Bishop Flavianus upon this dangerous occasion? This venerable old prelate, in the depth of winter, took a journey of many hundred miles, from Antioch to Constantinople, where the Emperor resided, and there prostrating himself before him, so mollified and wrought upon the incensed monarch, by such a truly christian speech as deserves to be engraven on brass, and by offering his own gray head a victim for his heart-broken flock, that he not only obtained a full pardon for the heinous offence, but even drew tears of compassion from the Emperor's eyes.



LETTER “ placed in authority :” \* And that the church-  
 XXXV. men might not pretend they had been taken una-  
 wares, they directed a letter to them too, under  
 this peculiar address, “ To the generation of An-  
 tichrist, the pestilent Prelates, and their sha-  
 velings within Scotland, the congregation of  
 Christ Jesus within the same faith ;” ordering  
 them to desist from their former cruelties, and  
 threatening them with the severest vengeance of re-  
 taliation, if they do not. Notwithstanding all this  
 the Regent made ready her forces to attack Perth ;  
 But by the mediation of friends, a compromise  
 was made, in consequence of which she got access  
 to it in a peaceable manner, and the congrega-  
 tion left it, after having entered into a new  
 bond of association, on the last day of May.

Here again the Regent unluckily took some  
 measures which the opposite party deemed a  
 breach of the agreement, on which the Earl of  
 Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, who tho’  
 of the congregation, had hitherto adhered to  
 the Queen, deserted her and joined their friends.  
 On the fourth of June, the Regent with her  
 small army went to Falkland, and the Lords of  
 the congregation, with Mr. Knox in their com-  
 pany, moved to Crail, where on the ninth he  
 preached, and on the tenth at Anstruther, in both  
 which towns his preaching brought about the  
 breaking down of altars and images, “ but still,”  
 he says, “ with more anger than avarice.” On  
 the morrow being Sunday, he marched with his  
 party to St. Andrews ; and there in fulfilment

\* A distinction this of a new coinage, which was afterwards  
 put in practice by a set of men, who “ fought for the King  
 against Charles Stuart.”

of a prediction which now for the first time he LETTER he boasts of having made in his exile, that he XXXV. would preach there in open audience before he  died, and in despite of the Archbishop, who, tho' attended with a hundred men in arms, durst not oppose him, he preached such a sermon, on the S. of f. road, p. 124. subject of our Saviour's driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, that immediately after the people spoiled all the churches in the town, and levelled the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries to the ground. Let it be observed here, that this was done on a Sunday, under Mr. Knox's eye, and at his instigation, and that too not by a "rascally multitude," as at Perth, but by the Provost and Baillies, with the whole town at their heels. Was this employment for the Lord's day? Was it a work of either necessity or mercy? Or, had it been both, might it not have deferred till to-morrow? Could there have been a greater profanation of the Sabbath, than this? And how would Mr. Knox have thundered out all the curses of scripture, and all the oratory of Billingsgate, against a less profanation of it in an opposite cause? Besides, the impudent application of our Saviour's example, who was Lord of the Sabbath and temple both, and had hereditary right to turn whom he pleased out of his Father's house, did that example either entitle or warrant Knox and his party to throw down the house, because of the corrupt use that was made of it? But it was his orders, and in those days that was enough, on Sunday or any day, to destroy whatever he thought fit to call idolatry.

When account of this havock was brought to the Regent at Falkland, she marched on the morrow with her troops towards Cupar, and was met

LETTER met by the other party with their army, at a  
 XXXV. moor near that town. But without coming to  
 ~~~~~ an engagement, another cessation of hostilities was  
 patched up, and both armies retired. Mean time
 the people of Perth were complaining of the hard-
 ships which they suffered from the Queen's gar-
 rison there, upon which the Lords marched in
 a body to their relief, and on the twenty fifth
 being Sunday again, they drove out the garrison,
 and reinstalled Lord Ruthven in the Provostship
 of the town. The next day they destroyed the
 fine abbey and royal palace of Scoon in that
 neighbourhood, with the Bishop of Moray's
 lodgings, in spite of Mr. Knox's pretended re-
 monstrances against it. From this exploit they
 posted next to Stirling, to prevent the Regent's
 getting possession of that pass, and there destroy-
 ed all the religious places, and among the rest
 the famous abbey of Cambuskenneth. After three
 days abode at Stirling, on this desolating business,
 they set forward to Edinburgh, for reformation
 to be made there, as Knox calls it. But by the
 way they halted a little at Linlithgow, where they
 made the same thorough work as at Stirling:
 And tho' they were not above three hundred in
 number, their approach struck such a terror at
 Edinburgh, that the Queen and Lord Seton the
 Provost left the city to the will of the reform-
 ing party in it, who, before the end of June that
 the Lords from Stirling came up, had ruined all
 the monasteries in and about the town, except
 the abbey of Holyroodhouse, which they only
 plundered, "so that," says Knox, "we were the
 less troubled with putting order to these places."
 But now is it not amazing how such an unheard-
 of devastation could have indeed been effectuated
 in

in the short space of seven weeks, from the eleventh LETTER
 of May, when they began at Perth, to the end XXXV.
 of June, in which time near to twenty of these religious fabrics had been laid in ruins in different places, and scarce a drop of blood spilt in the whole business! Strange, that none of the zealots on the other side would stand up in the quarrel, and risk a few lives in defence of their venerable images, tho' not many years ago, they had taken so many lives for but seeming to speak lightly of them! I know there are some, who will very readily bring in the hand of God here, and perhaps it cannot be well accounted for any other way: Yet if we admit such an interposition of providence, it ought to be considered as indeed permitting the fall of the superstition which had so long prevailed, but not as giving sanction to, or approving by success, the tumultuous and disorderly methods of putting down that superstition.

At the same time, while I have not the least sympathy with the cause which now seemed to be depressed, when I consider how cruel and unmerciful it had been when it was uppermost, I cannot help feeling for the situation of the Queen Regent: A stranger of a polite nation, engaged with the boisterous humours of a fierce and untractable people: A woman neither mean-spirited nor bad hearted: A mother too, entrusted with the management of an only child's hereditary kingdom; Led by what she had seen at home, to an admiration of these sumptuous buildings, originally devoted to what she thought the service of religion; and now, under pretence of religion, reduced to so many heaps of rubbish by a lawless rabble: And in the midst of all these confusions,

LETTER
XXXV. confusions, herself pushed forward on the one hand to violent measures, by weak or wicked counsellors, and amused on the other with compromises and pacifications, which, sometimes by mistakes on her own side, and as oft by voluntary infractions on the other, still came to nothing in the end. No wonder that she broke out sometimes into these sudden bursts of passion, which her bitter enemy Knox so indecently upbraids her with, and which, coming from such a pen, we need not doubt, have been much exaggerated. Yet whatever she might have lost in temper, her courage and activity never failed her. For tho' on the first alarm, she had thought proper to retire for safety to Dunbar, yet on hearing that the congregation had seized the coining irons of the mint, under some pretence or other of their own devising, she laid hold on this so palpable encroachment on one of the undoubted prerogatives of royalty, and published a proclamation to recal the lieges to their allegiance, by representing these turbulent seducers in a true and proper light: Which, tho' it was answered by a counter-proclamation, had the effect of creating jealousies and coldnesses among the reformers, and thereby was likely to weaken them a good deal. So the old method of conference and accommodation was applied to; and the congregation, finding their numbers decreasing, and the zeal of many waxing cold, were so modest in their proposals, as only to desire that the French soldiers should be sent home, and themselves have liberty to worship God according to their consciences.

While this mediation was going on, the Regent getting account of the divided state of the congregation, was advised to move towards Edinburgh,

burgh, which she did on the twenty third of July, and that day came within two miles of the city. Such a sudden and unlooked for march filled them with the utmost consternation, and the more so, as they suspected Lord Erskine, the Governor of the castle, to be none of their friends: So they thought fit to accept of the terms offered them, that all strangers of the congregation should depart out of Edinburgh, on the 25th of July, and leave the city open to the Regent and her retinue, with this mutual stipulation, that till the tenth of January next she should give no molestation to the new preachers, nor the congregation use any violence against the churchmen or religious houses. In consequence of this agreement, the Lords of the congregation, after drawing up and subscribing a third bond, or covenant of mutual faith and assistance, went off to the West country, with Mr. Knox in their company; and Mr. Willox remained preacher in Edinburgh. The Regent then entred into the city, and for this time adhered so strictly to the terms of the late agreement that, tho' she used many fair and discreet methods to have the mass publicly set up, she proceeded to no compulsion, and the reformed party kept the exclusive possession of the high church without much disturbance.

During these transactions at home the King of France Henry II. had died, and was succeeded by his son Francis II. our Queen's husband, a youth of little more than sixteen years of age. This change, it is thought, was a great and irretrievable loss to our country. For tho' Henry was sufficiently attached to the Romish forms, yet being a shrewd politician himself, and much directed in his councils by his prime minister the

LETTER constable Montmorency, who was a wise modera
 XXXV. man, and by the two great Princes of the bloc
 ~~~~~ the King of Navarre and the Prince of Con  
 who both inclined to the Protestant cause, he  
 more disposed to manage the affairs of Scotl  
 in these troublesome times, by mild and pac  
 measures, than by the rigour of authority and o  
 force. But upon his untimely death a new  
 tem of politicks was adopted. Montmore  
 was discharged from court, the two Princes  
 the blood were ill looked on, and the Guis  
 our Queen's uncles, becoming now by that re  
 tion the principal favourites and directors, advi  
 the prosecuting the Scottish rebels, as they call  
 them, with the utmost severity, and with all t  
 force that France could furnish. The effect of th  
 advice soon appeared in two separate letters of th  
 month of July, the one from the new King, an  
 the other from our Queen, both addressed to h  
 natural brother the Prior of St. Andrews, n  
 proaching him with ingratitude in the stronge  
 terms, and threatening him with the utmost sever  
 ty of royal vengeance : All which, as matters no  
 stood, was but a vain display of sovereignty, an  
 served no end but to draw from this artful an  
 bitious man, who began already to know his ow  
 importance, a canting and evasive answer.-  
 But writing was not all that was done. For i  
 September there came over a thousand Frenc  
 soldiers, with abundance of money and militar  
 provisions, and the men were immediately employe  
 in fortifying the town of Leith. About the sam  
 time too came the Bishop of Amiens, as Legat  
 from the Pope, and with him three doctors o  
 the Sorbonne, who, if we may credit Bishop Lessie  
 were very successful in restoring the old rites, an

in animating by their example our Prelates and inferior clergy to a commendable diligence in their respective functions: But our other historians represent this legation as tending to very little purpose, and where the truth lies, is best to be discovered by the events which so soon followed. LETTER XXXV.

Some weeks after this were taken up in a paper-war, and numbers of letters, declarations, and proclamations from both sides were published and dispersed thro' the country, full of mutual reproaches and accusations, the Regent vindicating her doings from the topic of lawful authority, and the congregation justifying the outrage of their actions by calling God to witness for the uprightness of their intentions. They had lately got a considerable reinforcement to their party by the accession of the late Governor, now styled the Duke (from the Ducal title of Chatelherault, conferred on him by the French King some years before,) who was reconciled to the congregation by his eldest son, now Earl of Arran, a zealous profelyte to the Protestant persuasion. With this addition of internal interest, and to interrupt, if possible, the fortifying of Leith, the congregation, after various meetings and deliberations, came at last in a body to Edinburgh, in open violation of the late agreement: And at the same time they wrote a letter to the Regent, who had retired from Holyroodhouse to the garrison at Leith for the security of her person, requiring her to evacuate Leith of the foreign troops and threatening in case of refusal to expel them by force. To this bold message, the Regent replied with equal spirit, expostulating with them on this rebellious stretch of arrogance, charging the Duke in particular with ingratitude and breach of promise,



LETTER promise, and authoritatively commanding them  
 XXXV. all, under pain of treason, to leave the metropolis  
 directly. The herald who carried this message  
 they detained in Edinburgh three days : And in  
 the mean time assembling all together, the Lord  
 Ruthven gravely proposed the deposition of the  
 Regent from her office and authority by a solemn  
 sentence of their convention : which, after much  
 altercation upon the propriety and impropriety  
 of the measure, being referred to the two preach-  
 ers Willocks and Knox who were present, was  
 by a most scandalous and impertinent application  
 of an instance or two out of the old testament,  
 determined in the affirmative. An act of depri-  
 vation was drawn up accordingly, and proclaimed  
 by sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edin-  
 burgh, a copy of which Mr. Knox has thought  
 fit to preserve for the instruction of posterity.  
 This done they dismissed the herald, with a letter  
 of intimation to the Regent, signed by “ your  
 “ Grace’s humble serviteurs, the council having  
 “ the authority unto the next parliament, erected  
 “ by common election of the Earls, Lords and  
 “ Barons convened at Edinburgh of the Protec-  
 “ tant faction.”

Keith,  
 p. 103.

Yet these Earls, Lords and Barons, who all to-  
 gether were only twenty nine in number, seem  
 themselves to have had but a poor opinion of the  
 validity of this act of theirs, since we still find  
 them applying to the Queen for the removal of  
 the French soldiers out of the kingdom, which,  
 if divested of authority, she had no more con-  
 cern with, nor power to order, than any  
 private subject had. And the commanders of the  
 English troops that came to the assistance of the  
 congregation, still spoke of her and acknowledg-  
 ed

ed her as Regent, without any regard to, or notification given them of what their friends had pretended to do against her. How she herself received it when it was intimated to her, we are not told: For immediately after this, open hostilities commenced on both sides. The congregation summoned the garrison of Leith to surrender, and attempted to scale the fortifications, but were repulsed. Money too began to be scarce among them, and a supply of a thousand pounds which they had procured from the English Governor of Berwick, was intercepted, and came not to their hands. And now the hopes and spirits of the party were brought so low, that on the sixth of November they were glad to decamp from Edinburgh at midnight, and never halted till they reached Stirling. There Mr. Knox refreshed their drooping spirits with a sermon from the eightieth psalm; and a resolution was formed to look once more to England, and send a formal deputation to Elizabeth for assistance. In the mean time it was agreed, for keeping up the cause, that one part of their chiefs should reside in and about Glasgow, and another in Fife, and that for carrying on the necessary correspondence, Mr. Balnaves should attend the one, and Mr. Knox the other of these bodies, as secretaries. The Western division, with the Duke at their head, on coming to Glasgow, caused all the altars and images in the churches to be broken down, and seized and plundered the Archbishop's palace: And on the twenty ninth of the month they emitted a ridiculous proclamation, in name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, "commanding under strictest penalties all the lieges, especially the clergy, to join

LETTER  
XXXV.Spotf. and  
Keith.

LETTER XXXV. “ join themselves to the reformed congregations, and to give open testification of their conversion, with plain confession of their faith, a renouncing of all manner of superstition and idolatry.” This was followed on the fourteenth of December by another, “ prohibiting and discharging by the same authority consistorial courts for upholding Antichristian dominion, and by name the consistorial court of Brechin, under pain of death.” The Presbyterian church historian Mr. Alexander Petrie, who was preacher to the Scotch congregation at Rotterdam after the restoration, tells us he found these proclamations among some papers belonging to the Laird of Dun, and boasts as much of them as if they had been legal and authorized deeds, for warranting the procedure of the reformation. When the congregation departed from Edinburgh, the Regent took possession of it, on which all the reformed party left it, and the high church was consecrated anew by the Bishop of Amiens. A band of soldiers too were sent to scour the country of Fife, who taking their route by land, plundered the houses of the disaffected that lay in their way on both sides the Forth, but after various skirmishes, were at last, on the arrival of an English fleet in the Frith, on the fifteenth of January, obliged to pull back again to Leith the same way that they came with considerable loss. Upon this new appearance of success, the reforming gentlemen of the Meeting took heart, and going to Aberdeen, demolished the monasteries of the Dominican and Carmelite Friars in the New Town, but were prevented their designs upon the cathedral and religious fabrics in the Old Town by the Earl of Huntly.

by and the Laird of Balquhain. The Bishop LETTER  
 William Gordon had, some time before, when XXXV.  
 the plundering work was going on in the ~~~~~  
 South, disposed of the jewels and precious uten-  
 ils belonging to the cathedral, in keeping to  
 the Earl of Huntly and to the several Canons, be-  
 fore witnesses, and under bonds of restitution:  
 But what became of them, or whether and to  
 whom they were restored, we have no account.  
 What little was left, which had not been thought  
 worth the removing, the Mearns men got their  
 hands on, and carried with them.

Mean time the application to England had, af-  
 ter a great deal of formality, succeeded, and the  
 English army of two thousand horse and six  
 thousand foot entered Scotland in the beginning  
 of April 1560, and were joined in a day or two  
 by all the leading men of the congregation from  
 all parts. Queen Elizabeth has been much blam-  
 ed for thus patronizing, and so powerfully sup-  
 porting the rebellious subjects of another Sove-  
 reign, both because of the real injustice of the  
 fact, and bad tendency of the example. How  
 far it was justifiable in the subjects to make the  
 application, is a point of casuistry which, some  
 will say, was determined by necessity, and others  
 will say no necessity can determine, so long as  
 the scripture maxim holds, which Mr. Knox him-  
 self at other times pleads from, that evil should  
 not be done, even to procure good. But in  
 what Elizabeth did, she seems to have had both  
 policy and provocation to bear her out. It was  
 good policy, such indeed as all crowned heads  
 act by, to prevent, by any means that came in  
 her way, such an accession to the power of France  
 as an absolute sway in Scotland would have made  
 to

and her husband the I  
prudent claim they still  
phin became King on  
were actually keeping i  
This was certainly w  
most tender part. It wa  
timacy in a most public  
and was undoubtedly fi  
was really a lawful Sov  
reason in the world to  
it may, and on whatever  
thought to ly, so it was  
ful assistance from Eng  
indeed, and so seasonable,  
pearance preserved the co  
ing under the weight of  
withstanding of their bol  
gent, and the mighty boar  
bers and constancy. Upo  
took shelter in the Castle  
feared her person not to b  
lodgings ; and in her con  
shop of St. Andrews and  
lors. For no sooner was t

fourth covenant of association signed on the twenty seventh of April by seven Earls, seven Lords, and about a hundred and twenty gentlemen of best note. Yet still the garrison of Leith kept their ground, and seemed rather to have the advantage in what sallies they made upon the besiegers: Till about the middle of May, that a reinforcement of two thousand men came to the English army, with assurance of still greater succours, if necessary, which visibly cast the balance, and brought the besieged very low. Mean time the Regent had been seized with a lingering distemper, which being heightened, as it was no wonder, by the grief and anxiety of her mind, increased so fast upon her, that on the tenth of June it put an end to her days. Her behaviour at her death was such, as even her reviler John Knox is obliged to represent in a different light from the usual ugly view in which he had thought fit to exhibit her character; and Archbishop Spotswood, who, probably had the account from his father the Superintendant, who knew her well, says "she ended her life most christianly." In general it may be allowed, that had she been left to her own good sense and moderation in the management of the public affairs, untroubled by unpopular orders from France, and unprovoked by the brutal barbarities which fell out at home after Knox's last return from Geneva, she would in time have settled the divisions of the kingdom in such a way as would not have left that indelible stain, which blackens the face of what is called the reformation in Scotland.

LETTER  
XXXV.  
Keith,  
p. 125.

A.D. 1560.

I am, &c.

# L E T T E R S

*Peace concluded between  
Concessions granted to  
Scotland—A Parlia-  
ment of Grievances—Lega-  
lises Popery, and  
Confession of Faith—  
Laws First Book of Dis-  
cipline passed for the Destruction  
of Monasteries and Abbey Churches.  
Intendants appointed, and  
Discipline.*

**A** Few days after the  
Regent, Commissioner  
France and England, in  
dispute.

subjects, had granted commission to enter into a LETTER  
XXXVI.  
 "reconciliation of differences arisen with the  
 "Queen of England, by assembling men on the  
 "borders." Accordingly the commissioners from  
 both courts met at Berwick on the fourteenth of  
 June, and after adjusting preliminaries, came to  
 Edinburgh on the sixteenth. There they found  
 the Regent dead, but nevertheless went on with  
 the business of their commission: And having  
 spent some time in debating all the points that  
 were in agitation, at last, by virtue of the full  
 powers they were invested with from their re-  
 spective Sovereigns, they came to a final agree-  
 ment on the sixth of July, which was signed A.D. 1560.  
 on the part of France by the Bishop of Valence  
 and the Sieur de Randan, and on the part of  
 England by Secretary Cecil and Wotton Dean  
 of Canterbury. In this agreement the affairs of  
 Scotland are not particularly mentioned, as it  
 had been thought too derogatory from the ma-  
 jesty of Sovereigns to treat on an equal footing  
 with subjects: And therefore this middle way  
 was taken, that the nobility and people of Scot-  
 land should offer petitions for obtaining redress  
 of their grievances, and the King and Queen,  
 at the earnest desire of Elizabeth, whom by  
 the sixth article of the agreement, they now  
 acknowledge their rightful and lawful fellow-so-  
 vereign, should condescend to make such con-  
 cessions as might tend to introduce a good har-  
 mony and understanding between them and their  
 people. These concessions are seventeen in num-  
 ber, all engrossed in the strongest terms, for the  
 security of the petitioners: And as there are three  
 of them which have a particular connection with  
 our present subject, and will afterwards be refer-  
 red to, I shall here set down the substance of  
O 2
them.



them. 4. " Concerning the petition relating to  
 XXVI. " the assembling of the States, the deputies have  
 " agreed that the States of the kingdom may  
 " assemble, in order to hold a Parliament, on  
 " the tenth day of July now running, and that  
 " on the said day the Parliament shall be ad-  
 " journed, and continued from that day to the  
 " first of August next, during which inter-  
 " val the deputies shall order a dispatch to the King  
 " and Queen, to advertise them of this con-  
 " cession, and to supplicate them most humbly to  
 " accord to it: And this assembly shall be as  
 " valid in all respects as if it had been called  
 " and appointed by the express commandment  
 " of the King and Queen, provided that no mat-  
 " ter be treated of before the said first day  
 " August. 13. It is agreed and concluded, that  
 " if any Bishops, Abbots, or other ecclesiastical  
 " persons, shall make complaints that they have  
 " received any harm in their persons or goods,  
 " these complaints shall be taken into considera-  
 " tion by the Estates in Parliament, and that  
 " such reparation shall be appointed as to the  
 " Estates shall appear reasonable: And in the  
 " mean time it shall not be lawful for any per-  
 " son to give them any disturbance in the enjoy-  
 " ment of their goods, nor do them any wrong  
 " injury or violence, and whoever shall contra-  
 " vene this article, shall be pursued by the nobi-  
 " lity as a disturber of the public weal and tranqui-  
 " lity. 17. Whereas, on the part of the nobles  
 " and people of Scotland, there have been pre-  
 " sented certain articles concerning religion and  
 " certain other points, in which the Lords De-  
 " puties would by no means meddle, as being  
 " of such importance that they judged them pro-  
 " per

“per to be remitted to the King and Queen; LETTER XXXVI.  
 “therefore the said nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing convention of Estates  
 “some persons of quality shall be chosen to repair to their Majesties, and remonstrate to  
 “them the state of their affairs, particularly  
 “those last mentioned, and such others as could  
 “not be decided by the Lords Deputies, and to  
 “understand their intention and pleasure concerning what remonstrances shall be made to  
 “them on the part of this kingdom of Scotland.”

All these articles of agreement are beforehand ratified and confirmed by Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland, by letters patent under their hands and seals, at Remorenin, June 2, 1560. Two days after the treaty was concluded, the articles were publicly proclaimed at Edinburgh, and on the sixteenth of July the English army departed to Berwick, and the French put to sea in English bottoms. \*

\* With them went, from a foresight of what was like to follow, Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, who carried with him all the public records of his see. When Queen Mary returned to Scotland, she constituted him her Ambassador at the court of France, and upon her death, King James her son continued him, notwithstanding of his different principles, in the same character, till his death, which happened not till 1603. In this station of high trust he carefully preserved the letters, instructions, and other papers committed to him by his royal constituents, all which, with what he carried over with him, he left at his death to the Scots College at Paris, where they have been lately deposited in excellent order by the care and industry of two of our countrymen, Mr. Lewis Innes, Rector of that College, and his brother Thomas, so well known by his “critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland.” From this valuable repository many discoveries relative to our history have of late years been made, and some of the mistakes or wilful impositions of our leading historians in some momentuous points laid open.


Upon

LETTER  
XXXVI.

Upon the third day after the departure of the troops, there was a solemn thanksgiving kept in the high church of Edinburgh, where, says Knox, the “most part of the chief ministers of the realm were “at the time:” In which thanksgiving, among other expressions suitable to the occasion, they mention their confederacy with England, which they call “that most godly league contracted in “God’s name,” and they pray to God, “that “he would retain them and their confederates “so firmly together by the power of his holy “spirit, that Sathan have never power to set “them again at variance or discord.” Yet England was at that time as truly and strictly prelatical as it has been at any æra ever since, even at the famous æra of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, when this old strain of thankfulness was forgotten, and the English prelacy declared, by the pretended successors of these reformers, an intolerable grievance. Things being thus prepared, the next step was to distribute the ministers among the principal burghs in the kingdom; but such was the paucity of preachers, that only these eight towns, Edinburgh, Leith, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, and Dunfermline, could at first be provided. At the same time, to keep up some appearance of the old form, they nominated five Superintendants to be placed in the five districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus and Argyle. All this was done before the first of August, but by what authority we are not told. In the treaty between the deputies it was agreed that the states of Scotland might meet on the tenth of July, but it was expressly restricted, that nothing should be treated of before the first of August. This appointment

ment therefore is no deed of the states, and can only be considered as a plan to be proposed, not as a standing and authorized settlement. LETTER  
XXXVI.

When the first of August came, the Parliament met, and was very numerous. Bishop Keith has given us, out of the Cotton Library, a list of its members, consisting of one Duke, thirteen Earls, nineteen Lords, six Bishops, twenty one Priors and Commendators, an hundred and five Barons by name, and the commissioners of twenty two burghs, "with many other barons, freeholders and landed men, all without armour." At their first meeting, a difficulty was started, and great debates ensued concerning the legality of it: One party maintaining, that as the Sovereign had sent no commission, nor authorized any to represent her person, no Parliament could be held: Others pleading the fourth article of the treaty as a sufficient warrant for their meeting: And this opinion by a majority of voices prevailed. Yet it is still doubted whether this was a legal Parliament, for want of the royal consent, and as the regalia of the kingdom were not carried in state, as usual on such occasions. But admitting the lawfulness of the meeting according to the concessions in the treaty, it may still be questioned whether every branch of business done in it was legal, even by these concessions. The deputies themselves had expressly refused to meddle with the religious differences in the kingdom, which they leave entirely to the cognizance of the Sovereign; and yet in direct opposition to this mode of proceeding, the principal employment of this so much magnified Parliament was to regulate every thing that concerned the religious disputes, and leave nothing to the Sovereign to do, but to ratify

LETTER  
XXXVI.  tify its decisions. For as soon as the Lords o  
the articles were chosen, and other customary for  
malities adjusted, the very first thing we find en  
tered upon, is a supplication from the congregati  
against Popery, the then established religion, in  
all its branches. To this supplication a favoura  
ble answer was made, and the ministers were  
desired to draw up, under separate heads, the sum  
of that doctrine which they wished to have esta  
blished by law. Accordingly in four days a *Con  
fession of Faith* was completed, and was by per  
mission openly read before the states, withou  
any the least word, as we are told, being said  
opposition to it. Then a diet was appointed ~~to~~  
collecting the votes, and it is remarked that o  
three of the temporal estate, the Earl of Ath  
and the Lords Borthwick and Somervil dissent  
giving no other reason but "that they wo  
"believe as their fathers had done." On  
other hand the Earl Marishal made a spee  
in favour of the confession, and declared that  
him the profound silence of the Prelates seem  
to be an irrefragable testimony of its truth. T  
justness of this inference perhaps will admit  
some doubt: But it cannot be denied that t  
Prelates are not to be commended for their silen  
what ever may be thought of their prudence,  
such a trying time. Whether their remonstranc  
would have answered any good end or not, it w  
their duty to have made the experiment, and  
have stood up, as they gave the meeting their pr  
sence, in defence of what they professed to believ  
was the orthodox faith, when they saw it  
daringly opposed, by men whom not many month  
before, they had pronounced to be a set of dam  
nable Hereticks. Their doing so would have a  
leaf

Spotswood,  
p. 150.

least taken out the sting from the Earl Marishal's speech, and might have prevented what Mr. Knox LETTER XXXVI. boasting said to Queen Mary, soon after her return, when he told her to her face, "that the  
 " ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and  
 " the learned and crafty Papist will never come  
 " in your audience, Madam, to have the ground  
 " of their religion searched out; for they know  
 " they are not able to maintain any argument,  
 " except by fire and sword, and their own laws:  
 " be judges."

This *Confession* therefore, thus recommended from the one side, and so feebly or not at all opposed from the other, received the sanction of the states on the seventeenth of August, and Mr. Knox has given us a full and exact copy of it. It is divided into twenty five heads, and continued to be the established formula in Scotland for more than eighty years, till the Westminster confession, which is now the legal standard, jostled it out, but whether in conformity with, or to the improvement of the old one, may be referred to a comparison betwixt them. This material point being gained, there was an act passed on the twenty third, for abolishing the mass, by which the sayers and hearers of mass are, for the first fault, to suffer confiscation of all their goods, and a corporal punishment at the discretion of the judge, for the second banishment, and for the third death. How are the times changed, and what ugly alterations does power and prosperity work upon peoples tempers? It is not above twelve months since these very men humbly petitioned for liberty of conscience, and seemed willing to rest satisfied with being allowed to worship God quietly in their own way. And yet no sooner

or spirit upon a change of  
reformers. The opposite  
of it too. There is present  
I spoke of in the Scots co  
nal letter from the Arch  
to the Archbishop of Gl  
France, in which among c  
“ it might be sufficient to  
“ this new opinion, to ul  
“ with thairfell, and noch  
“ boft them or banifche tl  
“ out thai do sicklyk, or a  
“ benefices and lyvings f  
not the Primate think of  
had Adam Wallace and W  
who would have thought  
sufficient? And with what  
in his crest-fallen state, c  
however iniquitous in itself,  
in the days of his power,  
amples? This is another  
where it appears, that the f  
trary to the spirit of the go  
reformation, and kept in fur

the other rescinding all former acts not agreeing with the *Confession of Faith* now ratified, and approved by the estates. In the abolishing of the Pope's authority, there is a particular clause in one of their acts which deserves to be taken notice of, where they order "that the Bishoprick of Galloway be adjudged to the Bishop of Athens, without the Pope's Bulls." We shall hear more of this Bishop afterwards: What I would observe in the mean time is, that this reforming Parliament, as it is called, does not seem to have been such an enemy to Episcopacy as to think it unlawful to dispose of Bishopricks, and even to take into their own hands the power of that disposal, which had long run in another channel. These three are the only acts which our historians mention as passed at this time, tho' it is certain there were several others about some of the affairs of state: And it is strange that our two church-writers of different characters, Knox and Spotswood, who both take notice of the restricting article of the treaty, against meddling with matters of religion, should particularize the only acts that were a direct contravention to that express restriction. But this was not the only deviation from the agreement, by virtue of which they met. For by the thirteenth article it was appointed that any complaints from the Prelates about their livings should be heard and redressed by the estates: And yet, as we are told by a letter from a Thomas Archbald, Chamberlain of the Archbishoprick of Glasgow, to the Archbishop, of date August 28th, 1560, the injured churchmen were never allowed time to present their bills, under pretence of hurry of other business, till the favourite project was carried, and then the Parliament

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I. FTTFR  
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broke up in all haste, without taking notice — any thing that should come from their now humbled adversaries, and only emitting this self-vincating declaration, that “because none of the kirkmen had given in their bills of complaint — therefore the Lords and Nobility had done their duty, according to the articles of peace. — It would seem indeed, by the silence of the Prelates when the point of doctrine was under discussion, which one should have thought, was the proper sphere for them to have moved in, that their only view in being there at all, was to take care of their benefices, and watch every opportunity of getting them secured, according to the article agreed to for that purpose. Upon which too probable supposition they might have seen — and no doubt did see their error at last, in letting go what they should have reckoned the substance, in hopes of catching the shadow, and by that worldly minded piece of policy losing both. — How would Knox and Buchanan have triumphed over them upon this severe and merited disappointment, if it could have been done without exposing the shuffling and evasive iniquity of their own friends in the management of it? For this reason they have denied themselves that pleasure, and observe an affected silence on the whole affair.

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p. 491.

When the parliament was dissolved, the preachers, we are told, were busied in drawing up a form of church-polity, for the order that should be observed in preaching and ministration of the sacraments, in the election and maintenance of pastors, and other things relating to discipline. And the care of this great work was committed to six of the most able of them, of whom John Knox was

was

was one, and from the nature of the composition seems to have been the principal one. It is called the *First book of Discipline*, and consists of nine divisions beside subdivisions. As some of the framers of it wished to conform as near as possible to the ancient model of government, it appoints superintendents, with some remains of episcopal power and precedence, and lays out ten districts under the old name of dioceses to be filled with them, viz. Orkney, Ross, Argyle, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Lothian, Jedburgh, Glasgow and Dumfries.* In the second head of the *Sacraments*, it enjoins "sitting at the Lord's table, as most convenient to that holy action, and thinks it nearest to what Christ and the Apostles did; that the minister break the bread and distribute to those that are next him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, during which time some such proper places of scripture ought to be read as the minister shall appoint." In the fourth head about ministers, it says, "other ceremonies than the publick approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister we cannot approve: For albeit the Apostles used the laying on of hands, yet since the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary."—About readers. "To the church which cannot

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* This constitution had indeed some appearance of a Prelatical plan, and the ingenious author of the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery* has collected out of the histories and General assemblies of these times no fewer than thirty instances of a visible superiority which these superintendents were vested with, and exercised over the ordinary class of ministers, tho' at the same time clogged with such levelling and inconsistent incumbrances, as can no way be adjusted to the primitive model in the most diminutive point of view.

“ presently

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“ presently be furnished with ministers, m
 “ must be appointed that can distinctly read t
 “ *Common Prayers* and scriptures, for the e
 “ ercise both of themselves and the church, u
 “ till they grow to a greater perfection, becau
 “ he who is now a reader may in process
 “ time attain to a further degree, and be adm
 “ ted to the holy ministry.” And again on th
 subject in the ninth head, “ In great towns v
 “ think expedient, that every day there be eith
 “ sermon or common prayer, with some exerci
 “ of reading the scriptures : The day of public
 “ sermon we do not think the common praye
 “ needful to be used, lest we should foster th
 “ people in superstition, who come to the praye
 “ as they come to the mass, or give them occ
 “ sion to think that these are no prayers wha
 “ are conceived before and after sermon.”

this last clause we see they make a distinction
 tween *Common* prayers and what they call *C*
ceived, or as the darling phrase now is, *extemp*
 prayers, and that they feared the people's fondne
 for the common prayers, which they were acquai
 ted with, might, if not guarded against, lead the
 to disregard the conceived sort, which they cou
 know nothing of till they heard them. We
 too, that now when they had found the benefi
 cial effects of preaching, it began to be thoug
 more essential and deserving of greater attentio
 than about three years ago, when they present
 their first petitions to the Regent : And in
 this we may easily perceive the peculiar finger
 Knox who, in little more than a year's time, ha
 turned conceived prayers and bold preaching
 such unexpected advantage. Upon this head th
 book further adds, that “ in every church c

“ Sunda

“ Sunday in the forenoon the word must be preach-
 “ ed, sacraments administered, and marriage so-
 “ lemnized when occasion does offer : In the af-
 “ ternoon the catechism must be taught, and the
 “ young children examined upon it in audience
 “ of the people : When there is neither preach-
 “ ing nor catechism in the afternoon, the com-
 “ mon prayer ought to be used ; four times in
 “ the year we think sufficient for the ministering
 “ the Lord’s table, and to prevent the superstition
 “ of observing Easter and such like, we appoint
 “ the first Sundays of the four months of March,
 “ June, September, and December for that ser-
 “ vice.”

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In the article concerning the punishment of those that profane the sacraments, it is said, “ the Papistical Priests have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation,” consonant to the 22d head of their confession, which describes lawful ministers to be only those that are appointed to the teaching of the word, or into whose mouth God hath put some sermon of exhortation. And here again, besides the lameness of the description which the meanest judgment cannot but find out, there is ground to suspect a particular touch of Mr. Knox’s hand in attributing their own peculiar faculty of exhortation, as they phrase it, either to immediate inspiration, as the sound of the phrase bears, or to their own superiority of gifts, natural or acquired, above the poor Papistical Priests, whom he always vilifies as a parcel of contemptible ignorants.

In the 6th head about the *Patrimony of the Kirk*, which is the precious jewel that they still have

LETTER have an eye to, after inveighing bitterly again
 XXXVI. some of the most zealous of their own professio
 on this score, they say, " the Gentlemen, Barons
 " Earls, Lords and others, must be content t
 " live on their own just rents, and suffer th
 " kirk to be restored to her right and liberty
 " The sums necessary for preserving good orde
 " and discipline within the kirk must be liste
 " of the tenths, viz. the tenth of corns of al
 " sorts, of hay, hemp, lint, fish, calf, lamb, wool
 " foal, cheese, besides all things doted to hospi
 " tality, and annual rents in burgh or land per
 " taining to Priests, Chuntries, Chaplainries
 " Colleges and Priories of all orders, whic
 " ought to be retained for the kirk within th
 " towns or parishes where they are doted. Fu
 " thermore, to the upholding of the univer
 " ties and sustentation of the Superintenda
 " the whole revenue of the temporality of
 " Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons lands, =
 " of all rents of lands pertaining to cathe
 " kirks whatever, ought to go." And of
 these vast revenues, with the contributions
 merchants within burgh, they appoint Deac
 annually chosen to be collectors, and to
 count for them to the Superintendants, or to
 general assembly of the kirk.* This book
 discipl

* Archbishop Spotswood tells us that when the Prim
 Hamilton heard of this strange device which a certain noblen
 called a *devout imagination*, he sent a Mr John Brand to tell
 Knox from him, "that however he had introduced anoti
 " form of religion and reformed the doctrine of the chur
 " whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should
 " well not to shake loose the order and policy received, whi
 " had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a be
 " ter to be settled in place thereof," and urged his advice fro
 . d

discipline thus finished, was presented to a convention of the estates, but was not received with all that approbation which the compilers had looked for. Their high claim upon the church lands throw an odium upon the whole scheme, as the great men who had already laid their hands upon some of them, did not chuse to part with them all at once, in compliance with what they were pleased to call "a devout imagination." Yet, to humour the party as far as their interest was not concerned, and to testify their concurrence in zeal against idolatry, this convention passed an act for demolishing all such cloysters and abbey churches as were not yet destroyed, the execution of which was committed for the West parts to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn; for the North, to Lord James the Queen's brother; and for the incountries to some zealous Barons of best note. In consequence of this shew of authority for finishing the work, which the fury of a lawless rabble had begun, every thing almost that was sacred and venerable went to wreck; churches, libraries, vessels, registers, sepulchres, all were ruined without distinction, in compliance with Mr. Knox's sage and senatorial counsel, "that the only way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." This pleasant business would give his pious heart some solace un-

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the way that the Highlanders take to break wild colts, by fastening them with two tethers, and as they slacken the one, keeping the other strait, till the creature be tamed and brought to bear the rider. But Mr. Knox, either trusting to his own demerit and influence, or abominating every thing that came from the *Bloody Bastard*, as he always calls him, went on in his own way. The event shewed that the Archbishop's advice was good, and Knox himself was soon convinced of his error in not following it.

Another piece of honour
 ferred upon him, was th
 gers thro' the kingdom,
 of the clergy to Edinburg
 their faith and religion l
 ture. From Aberdeen, w
 moned four Divines, Ale
 principal of the universit
 deposed by the Laird of D
 Angus ; John Leslie, offici
 treasurer ; and James Str
 nons, to be questioned l
 the town-house of Edinbur
 and John Knox. We h
 relations of this dispute, c
 other by Bishop Leslie, e
 own side of the question,
 parity in the strain and lai
 laterers. Nor were these the
 met with from this conven
 broke up, he got a good
 suaded to subscribe his box
 with this unwelcome provi
 " Abbots, Priors, and oth

Keith,
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ments." This was a disagreeable condition, LETTER
 there was no help; better put up with some- XXXVI.
 ing, than lose all. For tho' this partial and li-
 ed subscription could not be thought to have
 force of even such legal sanction as was cur-
 at that time, yet it gave the book in ge-
 l some sort of countenance, by securing a
 nderable party in its favour.

consequence of these previous steps, they A.D. 1561.
 ceded on the ninth of March to the admis-
 of Mr. John Spotswood to be Superinten-
 of Lothian, at the desire of the churches
 at district, and by charge and power from
 Lords of the secret council. This gentleman
 passed a course of regular education in the
 rsity of Glasgow about the beginning of our
 ious controversies, and, like many others in
 doubtful and uncertain times, withdrew in-
 England, where he became familiarly ac-
 nated with Archbishop Cranmer, and was by
 confirmed in the belief of these old truths
 h were now revived. Upon his return ma-
 ears after to his own country, he was pre-
 d by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, who
 a great pillar of the reformation, to the
 nage of Calder which then happened to
 acant, tho' whether he was in holy orders
 ot, we are not told. In this station he was,
 n nominated to be one of the superinten-
 s of the new erection, and now at this
 : formally intalled in that office by John
 x as minister of Edinburgh, who has given
 a full detail of all the solemnity. He appears
 all we hear of him, to have been a man of
 eat repute and esteem among all ranks, and
 ficiently qualified to have born this assumed

ram, who had been subp
 whom Mr. Wishart in
 “ the good man” from v
 ling to have received the
 have got it in both kin
 would not allow : For G
 lox, who had been colleg
 decision in the grand qu
 Queen Regent’s commiss
 Merns, John Erskine La
 indeed of unblemished rep
 appeared with great candor
 reforming side, but a me

* I am sorry to see something t
 to his memory, in an admonition
 to all under his charge, at the ti
 Hamilton after her escape from Lo
 his then unfortunate Sovereign wit
 a style too which, upon bare suspici
 expected from one of his acknow
 tion, and will not be thought a sui
 regard which that distressed Princef
 expressed for him. He seems ind
 all the then preachers were, much
 fluence of John Knox : And this
 glaring partiality

pretence to the clerical character in any LETTER
 : And for Argyle, Mr John Carswell, who XXXVI.
 een rector of Kilmartine, and seems to have
 man of some consequence in the Queen's
 t: For in 1566 she creates him Abbot of
 kill and Bishop of the isles, "as fully and
 ly as if he had been provided thereto in
 court of Rome." In 1567 he joined the
 at Hamilton who declared for the captive
 and sat in their Parliament as Bishop of
 , for which he was censured by the Ge-
 assembly, and died not long after. Why
 nox was not appointed to one or other of
 superintendencies, as there were other five
 isposed of, and which were never filled up,
 what surprising, and has been interpreted
 n of his disapprobation of any thing that
 ked like a Prelacy or imparity in the
 : Tho' at the same time his contriving
 model and acting under it cannot easily
 onced to such an interpretation. But
 in no doubt had his own ends to serve,
 ould see it more conducive to the main cause,
 ore honourable to himself, to remain what
 , minister of Edinburgh, and placed on the
 tower of the metropolis, from whence he
 inspect all the affairs of church and state,
 e, under the title of the humble John
 the superintendent of all the superinten-
 n the kingdom.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R XXXVII.

Reflections on the State of the Reformation in Scotland—The Rejection of Episcopacy, and Plea of Necessity for it, considered—List of reformed Bishops abroad—Sketch of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England—Account of the Council of Trent concluded—Rise and Progress of the Socinian Heresy.

HAVING now brought the history of what is called the *Reformation* in Scotland to the commonly received æra of its legal settlement, before I proceed any further in my account of the new establishment, I shall take the liberty to offer a few reflections which naturally arise from, or are connected with, the ecclesiastical transitions of these last fifty years. We have seen a new form of a church arising, not like a phoenix out of the ashes of the old one, but upon the ruins of a church which, tho' not on the foot of pure antiquity, yet because of a long and spl

did continuance, may in that sense be called an old church; and we have seen that new form set up after a peculiar manner, such as had never been seen before, and has not been altogether copied after by any denomination of church builders since. There are two capital points of ecclesiastical concern which those of the Protestant name in Scotland are divided about, and in which both sides would be appealing to the first reformers for a decision: And these are the *Mode* of public worship, and the *Form* of church-government.

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As to the first of these, it is as clear as any thing can be from history, that these reformers had prayers that were read; and readers are as standing an office among them as ministers or exhorters. In all the petitions from their general assemblies to the civil authority, for the maintenance of the kirk, there is always mention of readers, and a suitable provision demanded for them: And that it was their business to read prayers in their sacred meetings, we have been expressly told thro' all the stages of their history we have hitherto touched at. Yea, as far down as the year 1563,* we find an act of the privy council ordering the reparation of kirks by an assessment upon the minister and parishioners proportionably, because, as the act bears, "thro' lack of
" repairs the preaching of the word of God,
" ministration of the sacraments, and reading
" of the common prayers ceases, and the people
" therethro' becomes altogether without know-
" ledge

* In the general assembly of December that year, on the question about Thomas Duncanson, schoolmaster and reader in Sirling, who had committed fornication, and made public repentance for it, " whether he should be restored to his office in
" the

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“ledge and the fear of God.” What prayer they were which they read, is not material to the main hinge of the controversy ; nor does it affect the question in general, that the reading of the prayers began now to be looked upon in an inferior light, in comparison of preaching, which have endeavoured to account for already. It is enough that they had prayers read, and had a particular order of men appointed for that office which in some places seems to have been joined to that of the schoolmaster, for want, I suppose of a proper living for both. But tho’ this class of reformers for some time retained both the office and officer, their pretended success by degrees, jostled out the prayers from the office and only reserved a chapter or two of scripture to be read at discretion, and before the preacher entered, by the schoolmaster, who, from that part of his employment, was still called *the Reader*.

As to the other debateable point of church government, this much may be gathered from what we have as yet met with, that the generality of our first reformers, especially those of the laity, who were the great body of them, seem

“the kirk or not,” it was ordained that he should abstain from the said office, till the kirk of Stirling made request to the superintendent for him, and he present the said request in the next assembly : Which is the same formality of procedure that is observed in the same assembly with Alexander Jarden minister of Kilspeindie for a like scandal, and shews that the reader was church-officer as well as the minister.

* In many parishes the small allotment of victual-stipend that is paid to the schoolmaster, is called the *Reader Meal* this day, tho’ in most places the scriptures have followed the fate of the prayers, and the reader reads nothing in the kirk as part of the sacred service, unless it be the line of the psalm before he sings it.

ha

have had no aversion to the order or office of *Bishops*, however virulently some of their preachers might have spoken against that order, or acted in opposition to it. All their public remonstrances hitherto look favourably that way, and their new-constructed fabric of *Superintendency* had no doubt been designed as a resemblance, tho' but a lame one, of the old model. How far Knox, the great champion in this cause, wished well or ill to a Prelacy of any form, I shall not enquire; as I take him, and so will every impartial person that looks into his own account of himself, to have been a man who despised all superiority, civil or ecclesiastical, which did not humour his own taste, or clashed with any of his particular notions or schemes. He was a true disciple of Calvin, and madly attached to every thing that favoured of the Geneva leaven. I know very well what has been said of Calvin's respect to pure and primitive episcopacy, and how much many of his expressions in his letters indicate that respect. But expression is one thing, and practice is another. Had he, or others of these original reformers, been sincere in such expressions, what should have hindered them from putting their professions into practice, and obtaining that true and valid episcopacy, which we are made to believe they entertained such a value for? The plea of necessity, so loudly and plausibly brought in here from almost every quarter, will not upon examination be found so satisfactory as is given out: Tho' it is the favourite argument for vindicating the orders of the reformed churches abroad, and silencing, from sympathy more than solidity, any doubts about the validity of them, when such

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doubts can be cleared up no other way. For if we are to consider what is called Episcopacy in its genuine and original constitution, as instituted by the Apostles, and continued thro' the first three hundred years, neither hampered with the incumbrances, nor burdened with the adventitious trappings of foreign connections, which is the proper, if not the only, light in which it ought to be viewed, there is ground to think such an Episcopacy might have been found by the reformers upon the continent, if not at their first outset, yet in process of time, and before they had been obliged to encroach upon the old privileges of it in their subsequent establishments. There were Bishops at various times and in various places, true real Bishops in the undisputed order of Apostolic succession, who saw and forsook the corruptions of the church of Rome, and were capable, upon proper application, to have supplied the reformed societies with that hierarchy which so many of them pretended to hold in veneration. And as this is an observation not much attended to in discussions of this nature, and will not, I hope, be thought too great a digression from my main design, I shall beg leave to offer a list of such Bishops of this description as I have met with, in what little I have had opportunity to read of the ecclesiastical histories of these times.

Sleidan,

1. I shall begin with the worthy and well-known Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, who, about the year 1543, when the German reformation was well advanced, taking hold of a decree from both the Emperor and the Pope, for redressing the disorders complained of, called a synod of his canons and clergy, and proposed

proposed to them a system of articles, both doctrinal and ritual, which he had drawn up for that purpose. But being opposed by his clergy, and continuing by his Archiepiscopal authority to prosecute his undertaking with a truly orthodox zeal, he was first, at the instigation of the Canons of his cathedral, attacked by the Emperor in 1545, and then summoned by the Pope to appear within sixty days at Rome, to give an account of his proceedings. This citation he neglected; upon which the Pope next year excommunicated him: And Herman appealed from the Pope, whom he no longer acknowledged as judge, to a lawful general council, before which he engaged to pursue and prove his charge against the papal pretensions. But being grieved at the obstinacy of some, and double dealing of others of his clergy, and unwilling to expose his people to the hostilities of war, with which the Emperor threatened him, he soon after released the states of the Electorate from their oaths of allegiance to him as their Prince, resigned his dignity, and retired to his own paternal inheritance of Meurs upon the Rhine, where he lived privately and comfortably till the year 1552, when he died.

2. To him I shall join one of his successors, tho' ^{Steidan,} at some distance of time: Gebhard Trufches, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in the year 1577, who, having embraced the reformation was driven out of Cologne, but sustained himself a good while at Bonne, one of his electoral cities, till having lost it too he withdrew into Holland, and after staying some time there returned to Germany in the year 1589, where he died soon after.

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Scid:n,

Ibid.

Duret.

Collier's
Dict.

3. Gerard Geldenhaur, Archbishop of Utrecht embraced the Lutheran doctrines, and retired into Germany, where he wrote the history of Holland and of the low countries, and was killed by highwaymen in the year 1542.

4. Andrew Dudithius Bishop of Five Churches in Hungary, was a man of good parentage, learning and probity, and is commended by the celebrated historian Thuanus for his parts and condition: The Emperor Ferdinand sent him to Trent as his ambassador, soon after which he turned Protestant, and went to Poland, where he died in the year 1589.

5. John Alasco, of noble birth, was a Polish Bishop, and turning Protestant, was called over by Edward VI. to England, where he officiated as pastor to the Dutch congregation in London. In Queen Mary's time he removed with his friends to Denmark, from whence, being inclined to Calvin's principles about the Eucharist, he was obliged to retire, and settled sometime at Frankfort, while the divisions among the refugees subsisted there, but was soon recalled by the Protestants of his own country, where he was much respected even by the then King himself and died in the year 1560.

6. Peter Paul Vergerius Bishop of Justinianople in Istria, was bred a lawyer, and in that capacity was employed by Pope Clement VII. in 1532 against the Lutherans in Germany, where he acted with great vigour and dexterity, and to the entire satisfaction of his employer. Pope Paul III. continued him in the same office, and was so well pleased with his fidelity, that in 1536 he gave him the Bishoprick of Justinianople, and as a further reward of his services was to have made him

him a Cardinal in 1541. But some enemies LETTER XXXVII.
 having whispered into the Pope's ears that his long abode in Germany had given him some taint of the Lutheran errors, this so struck him that, to clear himself from that imputation, he went home from Rome to his See, and began a confutation of what he called the German Apostacy. This undertaking led him to turn over and examine the writings on the Lutheran side, which whilst he was engaged in, instead of discovering and confuting their errors, he found himself caught and almost convinced by their arguments. And now laying aside all thoughts of the Cardinal's hat, he applied to his brother John Baptist Vergerius, Bishop of Pola in the same country, and begged his advice what to do. The brother in a great fright lamented his situation: But upon consulting the scriptures on the converted tenets, he too joined in his brother's conviction, and acknowledged the falsity of their former doctrines. On this they began a reformation in their own diocesses, both in doctrine and worship, and with no small success for some time. This attempt made such a noise, that the Monks and other emissaries from Rome, thinking their all at stake, run up and down among the people of Justinianople, and what with threats of the Pope's resentment, what with artifice of declamation, incited them to murder their Bishop as a work of great merit. The Bishop, to avoid this tumultuous fury, retired to Mantua to his old friend the Cardinal Gonzaga: But being persecuted here too with calumnious accusations, he went boldly to Trent, to purge himself before the council which was then begun to sit there. When the Pope heard of this, tho' ungratefully forgetting

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forgetting the man's former services, he would fain have had him in his power, yet not to give any handle of his impeding the freedom of the council, by seizing a Bishop who had come to it. he wrote to his Legates not to allow Vergerius seat in their meetings, and to order him to be gone. Being thus driven from Trent, he returned to Venice, where the Pope's Nuncio, John de Casa Archbishop of Benevento, (the same who wrote that filthy piece in praise of the peculiar vice of Italy,) artfully advised him to go to Rome to satisfy the Pope who, he said, still had a favour for him. But Vergerius being wise enough not to trust himself in such hands, the nuncio forbade him in the Pope's name, to return to his diocese. He was therefore obliged to take shelter in Padua one of the Venetian cities: And while he resided in it, he was witness to the miserable condition and tragical end of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Citadella: Who having some years before embraced the newly revived doctrines, and being now frightened by the bullying menaces of the nuncio on the one hand, and decoyed on the other by the persuasions of his own relations, made a publick and solemn abjuration of them, fell into the most horrible perturbation both body and mind, and after some weeks of inexpressible agony, in spite of all bodily remedial or spiritual consolations, dyed in the deepest despair in the year 1548. This shocking spectacle had such an effect upon Vergerius, who was one of the unhappy man's spiritual comforters, that from that moment he resolved to bid adieu to his native country, and retire to any place where he could enjoy and profess the purity of the gospel with freedom. Accordingly he left Padua

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and removed first to the Grisons, and then to the Valtelline, where he got account of the death of ^{LETTER XXXVII.} his brother the Bishop of Pola, whom, it was thought, the Monks had poisoned. After some years stay in that country, he accepted of an invitation from Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg and settled at Tubingen, where he died in the year 1565.

7. Gerard Rousseau was first a Dominican Friar, but quitting the habit he travelled into Germany, and became acquainted with the Protestant doctrines, which, on his return he preached in the court of the Queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I. This learned and religious Princess procured him first the Abbey of Nerac, and after that the Bishoprick of Oleron, and protected him against all the persecutions of his enemies. He was a man of good qualities, and of an exemplary life, and was the first in France who gave the communion in both kinds, but did not fully approve of either Luther's doctrine or Calvin's in all points: He died in the year 1551, by the means of a Peter Arnaud, who thereby procured the Bishoprick for his son.

8. Odet, Cardinal de Chatillon, and brother to the famous Admiral Coligni, was Bishop of Beauvais, where he held two synods against the Heretics in the years 1554 and 1557, but afterwards adopted the reforming scheme that was going on, and in 1561 upon the holidays of Easter administered the Eucharist after the Protestant form in the chapel of his episcopal palace, having refused to celebrate mass in the cathedral. Pope Pius IV. in a private consistory deprived him of his purple, and he himself came over to England, where he died in 1571.

9. John

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submitted to his gov
him as their Bishop
them for that purpose,
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learn by a letter from
then at Troyes, to B
approves, but likewise
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However the Popish Bish
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themselves keep his plac
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a part of his family inh
and died there in the

10. James Paul Spifar
and upon the breaking
France, went to Geneva
Protestant. Soon af

gation which did not succeed, he was accused of a design to betray the Protestants, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, in hopes of a new Bishoprick: For which and some other alledged misdemeanours, probably too by some political manœuvre of Calvin's jealous spirit, he was condemned to lose his head, and was beheaded accordingly.

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Now here are no fewer than ten instances, well attested in history, besides many others perhaps that have not come so much to public knowledge, of Bishops who were men of some figure, and having renounced the errors of Popery, could have preserved the episcopal order and succession in any society that chose to accept of it. And in a calculation of numbers could be made, it might perhaps appear that, in proportion to the vast difference in this respect between the two orders of churchmen, there were as many reforming Bishops in those days as reforming Presbyters, altho' it be the common report in this country that "the reformation was carried on by Presbyters." I know the Popish party will brand all these men I have mentioned, with the odious titles of Hereticks and Apostates, and will boldly affirm, that after their sovereign the Pope had laid his Anathemas upon them, they lost their powers, and were no longer Bishops. But they should remember that when they say so, they contradict their own school divines, Thomas, Scotus, Bonaventura, Aureolus, Capreolus, Valdez, &c. who all of them, in their commentaries upon the great text of "The Sentences," agree that "Non potest Papa Episcopo, quantumcunque degradato, ordinandi potestatem auferre," the Pope cannot from a Bishop, however much degraded,

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graded, take away the power of ordination.— And as for the charge of Heresy, that is a mere begging the question, and deserves no other treatment than to be retorted on the objectors.

However it is not with them, I have to do a present : It is with people who profess an esteem for true primitive Episcopacy, and seem to lament the woful necessity that deprived them of that blessing, as the Presbyterian President of the synod of Dort, Bogermannus, said to the English Bishop Hall, when the Bishop put him in mind how fit a remedy Episcopacy is for suppressing clamour and contention, “ Domine, non sumus ade faciles, my Lord, we are not so happy. For what was it that stood at first between them and that happiness? There were Protestant Bishops scattered indeed here and there who, if the primitive example had been followed on all sides might have done as the primitive Bishops did as hot persecutions as even those to which they were exposed. Might not, for instance, the reforming Princes of Germany who protected the Monk Luther; might not the independent republic of Geneva, which received and supported the lay-preacher Calvin, have applied to and desired the favour of a Herman, a Vergerius, Gerard Rousseau, to take them by the hand, and model their reformed church on the old, and by their own confession, venerable plan? Indeed, the more I view the strange and inconsistent proceedings of those times, I am still the more convinced that there has been a defect somewhere. I might have said every where, upon this very score; and a defect too which seems to have had its rise in that very church which now exclaims so loudly against it. The Bishops for a cour.

of ages, had been accustomed to behold the patrimony and temporal endowments of the church with such an eye of affectionate admiration, that they thought, when these were at any time taken or withheld from them for whatever cause, they had nothing more to do as Bishops. From the bare and naked possession of that title, they seem to have reckoned themselves neither obliged nor even almost empowered, to ordain clergy or preserve their own order, or in a word, to perform any part of the episcopal function; which mistaken notion was one grievous impediment in the way of a regular reformation on the side of what concerned any of the episcopal order had in it.

And then from the other side, it is to be observed that, the most of the first reforming preachers, who had any right to the clerical character, having formerly been Monks, would naturally bring with them from their cloysters that indifference and want of esteem, not to call it aversion or contempt, for Bishops, which the Monastick fraternities had either by long custom or by express exemption, been used to entertain.—Hence they would naturally indulge themselves in the conceit, that as they had been in use to declaim and preach where they pleased, and to have their numbers kept up at the discretion of their Abbot or Prior, who was for the most part only in low orders, and sometimes in no orders at all, they might still carry on the old method under the new form without submission to, or dependence upon, any Bishop whatever. It may therefore be said with too much truth, that the sad defect in the reformed system, so much regretted by some, and complained of by others, has been in a great measure, if not altogether, occasioned

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caſioned by theſe two inſtances of corruption which the Romiſh church, from her views on worldly policy, had early begun and long encouraged, an impudent ſelf-conceit in the Monks and a ſtrange forgetfulneſs of ſpiritual character in the Biſhops. The lay-powers too who embraced and ſupported the reformation, when once they had fingered the rich patrimony of the church would not be willing to reſtore ſuch an ample ſhare of it, as might be thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the Epiſcopal order, eſpecially that degree of pomp and affluence, which they had been taught to look upon as eſſential to the character of a Biſhop. Theſe concurring circumſtances indeed may be ſaid to have formed a kind of accidental neceſſity, in the lax ſenſe of the word, but ſuch a neceſſity at the ſame time had a good deal of choice in it, and might by care and circumſpection have been at laſt eaſily removed, if all parties had been ſincere and honeſt in the buſineſs.

What I have ſaid about the reformed churches abroad is equally applicable, if not more ſo, to the caſe of our own reformers at home. For their ſcheme of ſuperintendency, as it was propoſed and managed, tho' it ſeemed to carry a kindly aſpect towards Epiſcopacy, yet was at beſt but an unneceſſary mimicry of that form, which by their connections with, and obligations to England at that time, they might have obtained in reality. There were two or three nominal Biſhops who had joined the reforming party in this country, Stuart of Caithneſs, Bothwell of Orkney, and Hamilton of Argyle: I call them nominal Biſhops; becauſe, by an abuſe of long ſtanding they were only named ſo, and put in a ſort of poſſeſſion

possession of the temporalities of, the See, without taking proper orders for the office, and sometimes without any orders at all. But they had likewise one real, duly ordained Bishop on their side, Alexander Gordon, of the family of Huntly, who had been first designed for the See of Glasgow, but being set aside by the Pope who preferred James Beton, was by way of amends honoured first with the empty title of Archbishop of Athens, and then provided to the Bishoprick of the Isles in 1553, from whence he was chosen for Gallo-way on the death of Bishop Durie in 1558, and at that station sat as one of the spiritual estate in the late Parliament.

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talogue,

It is true, these nominal Bishops, even with Bishop Gordon at their head, might not have been thought sufficient to have duly founded a reformed Episcopal church after the truly primitive model. But our reformers were now in a fair way of being assisted in the polity of the church, as they had been in the affairs of state, from England, if they had been as solicitous about the one as they were about the other. This requires to be more particularly accounted for, as the last view we took of church-matters in the neighbouring kingdom was far from promising any such friendly aid to the cause of reformation. The Popish Mary, who had succeeded her Protestant brother Edward in the year 1553, had early begun to discover her attachment to the exploded rites, and her indignation at the usage her mother Catharine had met with. Some of the Bishops who had renounced the Pope under Henry's strait reins, and had begun to boggle a little under the lax government of the young Edward, such as Gardiner

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of Winchester, Bonner of London, &c. never veered about to the old point, and openly declared the sentiments which they had all along kept lurking in their hearts. Such of that order as were sincere in their professions, and steadfastly adhered to the reforming scheme which all had once concurred in, either provided for their safety by a timely flight out of the kingdom, or if they staid, under the insidious offer of public disputation with their adversaries, were apprehended and thrown in prison. The first public thing that Mary did, was to send for Cardinal Pool, a distant relation of the royal family to whom Henry had once given a pension for carrying on his education, but had withdrawn it, and got him attainted in Parliament for publishing a virulent invective against him on his rupture with Rome. Upon this welcome invitation, Pool came over in 1554, fortified with the character of Pope's Legate, and the next year after having his attainder reversed by a Parliamentary decree, he in the Pope's name and authority absolved the whole nation of England from their guilt of schism and apostacy in two late reigns, and solemnly reconciled them to the Apostolic See. And here let it be observed that all this time, and at the performance of so capital and peculiar act of spiritual function this Cardinal Legate, who had already been one of the three Presidents in the council of Trent was only in Deacon's orders, and was not advanced to the high order of Bishop till some time after this, by three English Bishops, Heath, Bonner, and Hodgkins. This was one of the many new devices which the Popes had invented to sink the dignity of their brethren Bishops, decki

seeking Deacons, the lowest of the three Apostolic degrees, with red hats and affected titles, and thereby exalting them above those, who, by original institution and ancient practice, were their superiors. So many co-operating causes do we find in this corrupt system of Popery towards that disregard of, and departure from, the Apostolic plan of Episcopacy, which now so unhappily prevailed.

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After this parade of reconciliation was over, the old burning business was renewed. And tho' Pool was a good natured, humane man, and was once thought a little favourable to the Lutherans, to whom his house, when abroad, was always open, yet the impetuous and time-serving zeal of Gardiner and Bonner, taking hold of the Queen's bigotry and sourness of temper, brought numbers to the flames from different parts of the kingdom. * It is somewhat surprising, that, notwithstanding of the Queen's forwardness for having the church in England resettled upon the old footing, Archbishop Cranmer the Protestant Metropolitan should have been spared so long; for he suffered not till March 1556, and the See of Canterbury was not disposed of till his death. The expedient of lay-deprivation had not, it seems, been then thought of, tho' it was a wonder that the Pope's Bulls had not been applied to, or the hated Archbishop put out of

* It has been computed that in this combustion there perished five Bishops, Cranmer of Canterbury, Ridley of London, Latimer of Worcester, Hooper of Gloucester, and Ferrers of St. David's, twenty one inferior clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty five women, and four children. Enough and more than enough to disgrace the annals and blacken the memory of any people who went by the sacred name of christian.

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1558.

the way sooner: However, now upon his death Pool was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and every thing, except the best part of the old temporalities, which to the Pope's great disgust, the Queen still kept hold of, seemed to be in flourishing and prosperous a train as could have been wished. But this fair prospect did not long. For in little more than two years the Queen died, and Pool did not survive her many hours. Her sister Elizabeth, who had been frequently in danger, but had still been preserved more from maxims of state-policy than any other consideration, was immediately proclaimed without the least disturbance, and crowned about a month after. The See of Canterbury, which the cruelty of Mary had opened for Pool, was now vacant by the hand of nature, if not of providence, and was canonically filled with Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been Dean of Lincoln at Edward's time, and on his nomination to Canterbury, was on the 17th of December 1559 consecrated in Lambeth chapel by the four surviving reformed Bishops, William Barlow formerly of Bath, now elect of Chichester, John Scory formerly of Chichester, now elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale of Exeter, and John Hodgkin Suffragan of Bedford, who had all of them received the Episcopal character, thro' the same hands with some of the greatest Bishops in Queen Mary's time. *

* About forty years after this, a foolish story was trumpeted under the ridiculous title of the Nag's-head consecration, to make people believe that the solemnity was performed clandestinely in a farcical way in a common tavern, which has been again and again confuted, in a more serious manner indeed, and with more strength of demonstration, than the weakness of the calumny, the character of its author, deserved.

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Now from this short sketch of the posture of LETTER XXXVII. affairs in England, it is manifest that our reformers might have been easily assisted in modelling the Scottish church, upon a much nearer resemblance to the original plan, than that mixed motley scheme, which they were induced to set up in imitation of it. Yet so far were they from desiring any such foreign assistance, that they even did not make a proper use of what few helps their own country afforded them. For that very Bishop Gordon of Galloway, who had declared for them, and appears in his subsequent behaviour to have been as hearty, on what might be called the church side of the question, as any of them, tho' in end he differed from the great body of them in politics, yet tho' a Bishop he was passed by in the nomination of superintendents or chief ministers, and the superintendency of the West where his diocese lay, was given to an obscure Franciscan Friar of that country, John Willocks. Yea, not only so, but when the Bishop desired, in one of their assemblies to be admitted into that class, he was put off with a limited sort of commission for the purpose of visitation, and at another time, on some vague accusation, was even suspended for a while from the exercise of the ministry in any shape. So jarring and incongruous in its constitution is this new polity of a church, and so little encouragement had even the most primitively inclined Bishops, to accede to it, notwithstanding of that appearance of regard to prelacy which the flattering sound of *superintendency* carried along with it. Yet such as it is, we must in our historical narration put up with it for a while: And to this narration I shall very soon proceed. Only, before I begin to look into the general

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neral assemblies of the reformed kirk of Scotland it may not be improper to take another view of the great general assembly of the Pope's kirk at Trent.

We had left the fathers of that council frightened away by the approach of the Protestant Prince of Saxony, with a numerous body of troops in the year 1552. After which, in terms of a treaty of Passaw, the religious differences in many were debated between the Emperor's agents and the Protestants, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to little purpose; till Charles's resignation in 1556, his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the Empire, and seemed to have been the honestest man of the two, came to some sort of terms with them a second time and again renewed his applications to the Emperor for re-assembling the council, to put a final remedy to these divisions. Upon which, the Pope Pius IV. published a Bull in 1560, commanding the council again at Trent, against Easter the next year. However, because of the paucity of attendants at that day, the first session, which was the seventeenth from their first meeting, was held till the 18th of January 1562, in which, besides common formalities, there was no material business done. In the eighteenth session there was a decree made concerning prohibited books, an index of them drawn up: But it was not published while the council sat, for fear of offending the Lutherans, if they should have seen their writings condemned. In the two next sessions the ambassadors from France embarrassed their proceedings a good deal, by insisting on some ceremonies, which were at last adjusted, and the council went on: And because it was desired

the points of faith should not be handled till the Protestants were heard with their objections, this matter was deferred till another meeting. In the mean time, the ambassadors from the Emperor and the King of France, from Hungary and Bohemia, and from the Duke of Bavaria, all proposed that, for gaining the Protestants, communion in both kinds should be allowed, and the proposal was debated in several meetings. Yet notwithstanding of this powerful interposition, an evasive decree passed in the twenty first session, that "it was matter of faith to believe that communicating in one kind, as to the laity and clergy who do not consecrate, is sufficient to salvation." And so, without taking further notice of this so pressing and long complained of grievance, they went on to define the sacrifice of the mass, which in the twenty second session is declared to be "a sacrifice propitiatory for the living and for the faithful departed, offered to God alone, tho' sometimes in honour of the saints, and out of regard to their memory."—The twenty third session on the 15th of July 1563, decided the doctrine of the sacrament of orders: The twenty fourth on November 11th defined marriage to be a sacrament, but not preferable to virginity or celibacy: The twenty fifth and last session on the 3d of December established Purgatory, indulgences, and invocation of saints: And then they referred all disputes and contested senses about the meaning of their decrees, to the Pope's single and absolute determination. Accordingly this Pope soon after digested all these various decisions into twelve distinct articles, which he added to the twelve articles of the Apostles creed, and published to the world under the title of *the Creed of the Council of Trent* as the only standard of the

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Catholic faith, to be received by all Catholic people, and sworn to and subscribed by every clergyman on his admission into orders.

Thus ended this famous council of Trent, the last and consummating council of the Romish church, after having sat, from first to last, eighteen years, under five successive Popes: In all which time, instead of healing any one sore, or reforming any of those disorders which their own Emperors and Kings complained of, they rather confirmed and widened the Protestant breach by their stiffness and obstinacy, and drove up the contended point of the Papal supremacy to almost a greater height than it had been at before, if the several sovereigns of that communion had been as tame and submissive as their predecessors, and had not been taught, by Protestant examples, to stand more up in defence of their royal prerogatives than had been done in former times.*

* The world has been favoured with two different histories of this council of Trent: One, under the fictitious name of Pietro Soave Polano, by father Paul Sarpi, a divine of Venice, and Provincial of the order of the servits (or servants of the blessed virgin, a religious order set up at Florence in the year 1232) who, at the time that Paul V. was contending about his powers with the republic of Venice, wrote a history of this council by way of answer to the insolent claims which the Pope was making upon the privileges of the republic: This work of father Paul's, by his candor and plainness in exposing the base intrigues of the Papal party for packing and overawing the council, was highly provoking to the Pope and his courtiers, but was well received by the Venetians, and indeed by the greatest and best part of the Romish communion: And such repute was the man in, for sanctity and integrity that, after his death, the people prayed at his tomb, till they were expressly prohibited by Pope Urban VIII. The other history was written about 50 years after this first one, by Sforza Pallavicini, who was made Cardinal by Pope Alexander VII. in 1659, and to support the Papal cause in many things contradicts father Paul's account, but was answered by a treatise on that subject
But



But while the controversy about reformation was thus carried on in an open and public manner, there started up a private and disunited sect, who, on the bare ground of their own reasoning faculties, set up a new belief, not in any of the lesser controverted articles of the times, but in the grand, and then uniformly received article of the nature and merits of that blessed Person, from whom they still took to themselves the common name of Christians. This sect appeared first in Italy, where a Lælius Socinus and his nephew Faustus were bred, and have the honour, such as is, of giving the distinguishing name to the whole tribe, tho' neither the most conspicuous nor the most active among them. For, cotemporary with them and of the same country, were in Paul Alciate a gentleman of Milan, George Andrata a Piedmontese physician, James Paleologus a Dominican of Rome, and sundry others, who, on beginning to vent their novelties, being forced to leave Italy for fear of the inquisition, took shelter in the Protestant countries of Switzerland and Geneva, but meeting with no favourable reception from Calvin and his associates, they went at different times and in different characters to Poland and Transylvania, where the civil broils and divisions gave them scope to publish their notions with freedom. Faustus Socinus had got possession of the papers, which his uncle Lælius had written on the subject of Christ's divinity, and these were the only materials he had to go to work with. This was a new field of contro-

led the new Gospel of Cardinal Pallavicini: And to this day her Paul's history as the most genuine and authentic, has the preference among all denominations, except among the Jesuits and others of the Pope's creatures.

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verly opened, where none of the dissenters from the Romish church had hitherto appeared, as where these subtilizing gentlemen concluded it might be attacked, if not with success, at least with some share of fame and reputation.

The old heresy of Arius, which had long made a noise, was now exploded and almost forgotten, and the reformers in the several parts of Europe agreed with Rome in the old catholic doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. This Arian scheme therefore, Socinus and his companions thought fit to revive, with this improvement, to make it appear their own, that whereas Arius absurdly enough to be sure, would have Christ to be a sort of being between God and creature, or in other words, a created God, which carried inconsistency in the very sound, the Socinians maintained that he was altogether a mere man, and had no manner of existence before incarnation; that all the design of his office was not to redeem mankind, but to instruct them, and that his death on the cross was with another view, and had no other effect, but to be a pattern of heroic virtue, and a confirmation of the truth of his doctrine. In consequence of this, they denied the original pollution of nature, the necessity of grace, and the efficacy of sacramental institutions. They had other strange conceits about the immensity and omniscience of God, about the operations of the human mind, and the nature and duration of a future state. But these debasing notions about the person and offices of Jesus Christ, are the distinguishing tenets of the party, and make the capital figure in their writings, which are both numerous and useful. Yet they all continued for a while to pr

rist, and to worship him on the footing of LETTER  
 ing, as it were, a vice-god, invested with XXXVII.  
 reign power over all creatures: Till within  
 years after their first appearance, one of  
 disciples, Francis David, opposed this prac-  
 upon the unanswerable argument, that no  
 or adoration ought to be given to a  
 e, however high or excellent. This man  
 much trouble to the sect, and split them  
 into factions. Socinus himself died in the  
 1644 near Cracow, but the party did not die  
 him. They maintained their ground long  
 and, where they had schools, published ca-  
 us, and for some time engrossed most of  
 protestant name. In Prussia too and Hol-  
 land they had long footing, but were little heard  
 England, till during the confusions of  
 the First's time, that a John Biddle  
 ed and openly avowed their tenets, and  
 d for them. After which, sundry others  
 took the same paths, particularly among the  
 ers from the established church. It is on-  
 ly a few years that some of her clergy, seized  
 the infection, have broke off from her com-  
 munion, and formed themselves into separate so-  
 cieties, where their worship is conducted by a  
 entirely agreeable to their own prin-

As error is catching, and novelty always  
 gains, it is probable we may soon have the  
 same added to the many other sects of this  
 country. It seems already a matter of  
 whether the real sentiments of many among  
 are so conspicuous enough both for station and parts,  
 far distant from those of Socinus, as  
 character and outward profession would  
 lead to.

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## L E T T E R XXXVIII.

*On the Death of her Husband the King of France & Mary returns to Scotland—The two first General Assemblies of the Kirk had been held before she arrived—She issues Proclamations in favour of the Reformers—Little Effect of the Condescension—Proceedings in the third General Assembly—Augmentation of Stipends demanded—Right of Patronage admitted.*

**W**HILE our reformers, after the parliamentary decrees in their favour, were busy settling their affairs to rights, an unexpected event happened, in which both parties believed themselves equally interested. On the fourth of September 1560 died Francis II. King of France and husband to our Queen, who was now a widow, without issue, and only eighteen years of age. As soon as certain accounts of this important change reached Scotland, agents were dispatched to the Queen from both the contending parties.

parties, the Prior of St Andrews from the reformers, and Leslie afterwards Bishop of Ross from the other side, to secure the royal favour as early as possible, and counteract one another. Among the instructions given to the Prior he was particularly admonished "not to condescend that her Majesty should have mass publicly or privately within the kingdom, otherwise he would betray the cause of God to the utmost danger." The other agent was instructed to a contrary purpose; and both, we are told, delivered their several commissions with sufficient fidelity. The Queen of England too sent her compliments of condolence to our Queen, and at the same time demanded from her a formal ratification of the late treaty, which Mary, politely enough, and with great appearance of reason, evaded. Yet Elizabeth was so much offended, that she would neither allow Mary's envoy Monsieur d'Oysel to pass thro' England to Scotland, nor give the Scottish Queen herself any assurance of a free and unmolested passage to her own kingdom. This ungenerous behaviour made a strong impression on the mind of Mary, but did not retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais by six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, and a great number of the French nobility of both sexes, and after resting there some days, embarked on board one of the galleys which the King her brother-in-law had provided for her. All the first day she kept her eyes still towards the coast of France, till the darkness intercepted her view. At night she ordered a couch to be spread for her upon the deck, and charged the pilot to awaken her how soon light returned, if the land of France was still in sight. As they had made little way during the night,

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night, when morning came, she had still the satisfaction of beholding the coast of France, fixing her eyes upon it, as long as she could distinguish the land, she was often heard to "Farewell France! Farewell, beloved country! I shall never see thee more." At last the weather proving favourable, she lost sight of her country; and a providential fog contributing to her escape from the English ships that were to intercept her, she landed safe at the port of Leith on the 20th of August 1561. Such a happy arrival occasioned an universal rejoicing throughout the kingdom, and people of all ranks and denominations were eager to congratulate the return of a much extolled Sovereign, who had been absent in her own country for more than thirteen years. But as ecclesiastical business is my principal concern, I shall now return to my subject, and only take notice now and then of such parts of the civil transactions of this agitated reign as are more immediately connected with the subject I have in hand.

The reformed society had already, under the authority of parliamentary authority, held two general assemblies of their kirk: The first on the twentieth of December 1560, consisting of forty members, of whom only six are in the list of ministers, viz. John Knox, Christopher Good, John Row, David Lindsey, William Harlaw, William Christieson. The rest are called *Missioners for Kirks*, and seem all to have resided south of the river Dee. At this meeting the general business seems to have been, to give in the names of such as should be appointed for reading the common prayer publicly in all kirks, and congregations, and of those who should be furnished

further qualified for the greater work of *Ministry and Teaching*, in consequence of which scrutiny we find in Kyle eight that were capable to be readers, and only one "apt to teach;" and for ministry and teaching in Angus and Merns, are appointed among others, John Erskine laird of Dun, and John Fullarton Laird of Kinnaber. The second assembly sat down May 26th, 1561: And in both these assemblies application was made to the estates, who then ruled every thing as if there had been no sovereign, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, and sharp punishments to be inflicted on such slayers or hearers of mass as should be informed upon by name.

Thus matters stood in favour of the reformers when the Queen arrived: Who on the very fifth day after, by the advice of the Protestant council whom she had chosen, issued a proclamation, strictly enjoining all her liege subjects "that none of them take in hand, privately or openly, to make any alteration or innovation of the state of religion, or attempt any thing against the same, which her Majesty found publicly and universally standing at her arrival in this her realm, under pain of death." At the same time commanding, under the same penalty, that no person dare to molest or invade any of her Majesty's servants and French domesticks, in any place, or on any pretence whatever. It might have been thought that such a gracious and early instance of condescension would have satisfied the party and made them easy: But it had the contrary effect. The Earl of Arran, immediately and in face of the very Heralds who made the proclamation, gave in a formal protestation that, notwithstanding of what thanks they owe to her Grace for



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allowing the true kirk of God to go forward, ye  
“ if any of her servants shall commit idolatry b  
“ saying mass, or being participant in it, this pro  
“ clamation shall be no protection nor safeguar  
“ to them in that behalf, but that it shall be law  
“ ful to inflict upon them the pains containe  
“ in God’s word against idolaters, wherever they  
“ may be apprehended, without favour.” And  
John Knox, on the very Sunday after, inveighed  
bitterly against the royal proclamation, telling his  
people from the pulpit that “ the Queen’s on  
“ single mass was more frightful to him, than  
“ thousand armed enemies landing in any part c  
“ the kingdom to suppress the whole religion.”

This rough and unmerited opposition, on he  
very first entrance into government, could not but  
vex the Queen, and prepossess her with an earl  
disgust at both the persons and principles of such  
a discontented sect, who could so abuse such  
voluntary instance of lenity and moderation,  
which she ran the risk of disobliging her friends  
of her own profession. For however little Knox  
and his followers might have thought this pro  
clamation in their favour, or rather hurtful to  
their cause, yet Bishop Leslie, who was to the  
a strict Papist and a loyal subject to his sovereign  
in all her fortunes, saw this action of hers  
another light, and notwithstanding of his unshaken  
affection to her, laments it as the unhappy source  
“ from which all the mischievous schisms, enmities  
“ and seditions that followed in Scotland took the  
“ rise.” Knox tells us, that for this sermon  
his he was called before the Queen, who charged  
him with impugning her government in a formal  
treatise on purpose, and with continuing to stir  
up her subjects against her. To the first part c  
whic

which charge he answered, not by his former sub-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 vertuge of the providential right, which he did <sup>XXXVIII.</sup>  
 not think so necessary now as it was to pacify the  
 Queen of England, but by boldly affirming that  
 “to this day he reckoned himself alone more able  
 “to sustain the things laid down in that work, than  
 “any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it.”\*  
 To the other part of the Queen’s charge Knox  
 plainly avowed, that “subjects may resist by the  
 “sword when God gives them the power and  
 “means, and therefore he says, when Princes ex-  
 “ceed their bounds, to take the sword from them,  
 “to bind their hands and to cast them into prison,  
 “till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no  
 “disobedience against Princes, but just obedience,  
 “because it agreeth with the word of God.”  
 Such were the arguments produced by this great  
 oracle of the reformers, in his zeal against Pope-  
 ry and arbitrary power. But was this the ready  
 way, either by the nature of the doctrine, or the  
 manner of delivering it, to open their sovereign’s  
 eyes, and reconcile her to the new scheme  
 which they were so earnest to get universal-  
 ly and thoroughly established? Yet so humane  
 was the Queen, and so willing for the sake of  
 peace to gratify these people, even by doing vi-  
 olence to her own principles, that within a few  
 days she emitted another proclamation charging  
 and commanding her lieges, “that none of them

\* At the same time he owned his having heard, that an En-  
 glishman had written against that book, but he had not read him.  
 This Englishman was Dr. John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of  
 London, who had been an exile for his religion after Edward’s  
 death as well as Knox, and immediately on Knox’s *Blast*, as  
 he titled it, coming out, published a *Harbour against the Blast*,  
 in which he confuted all the Blatter’s sophisms with great strength  
 of argument both from scripture and reason.

**LETTER XXXVIII.** “ take in hand to purchase or send for commissions from Rome, for confirmation of any made of kirk lands to whatsoever persons, since the sixth of March 1559, nor to use or proceed upon any commission that might have been since that time.”\*

**A.D. 1561.** Notwithstanding all this compliance on Queen’s side, the preachers went on exclaiming on all occasions against her having mass privately in the chapel of her own palace, and in meeting in November, they proceeded so far to state and debate the question formally, “ Whether the subjects might put hand to suppress idolatry of their Prince or not”? The preachers maintained the affirmative, and many of the nobility pled on the other side: To determine which difference, it was proposed to write to Geneva for the resolution of that church, and John Knox offered himself for that service. But Lethington the secretary, who had a great sway among them, and pretended as yet to take a care of the Queen’s interest, cautiously alluding, as he well might, that much lay in the manner of information, undertook the business, and so got the proposed application put off at that time. By this we see how gradually the influence of Calvin and his Genevan consistory was creeping in among our preachers, by the in-

\* However little the preachers might think themselves obliged to the Queen, certain it is that these royal proclamations which then had the force of law, were by the lay-part of the forming society reckoned so strong and secure in their favour that when the Earl of Huntly happened about that time to be in a private conversation, that “ if the Queen desired it he would set up the mass in three shires,” the lord James took him roundly up, and told him “ if he made but a mint that way, he would put the Queen’s proclamation upon him.”

1 authority of John Knox, to the exclusion of the first proposed plan of reformation "according to the godly and approved laws of the peror Justinian," which Knox well knew never have countenanced such presumption. In the present case, there was the less occasion as not only by her acts of royalty, but even in private conversation the Queen was so far from being an inflexible bigotry to her own opinion, that there appeared about her a moderation and mildness of disposition, which if properly and skilfully managed, might have been turned to every best account.

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There had been, some months after her leave-taking, a conference held by appointment at a small village not far from Paris, about the most contentious disputes in that kingdom. On the one side were four Cardinals, near to forty Bishops, and a great number of the ablest divines in France. On the other side were twelve or thirteen Protestant ministers, with the famous Theodore Beza from Geneva to assist them. The King and his mother were present, and the controversy was fixed to two capital points, the one relating to the true substance, and the other to the Eucharist. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the one side, insisted that, as an indispensable preliminary to any accord, the Protestants should admit the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, in the highest sense that he had put upon it: On the other side Beza refused by no means come in to that demand, and in the course of his explaining the doctrine of his position on this head he said, "that the body of Jesus Christ is as distant from the bread and wine, as the highest Heaven is distant from the earth." This expression so shocked and irritated

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tated the Prelates and Popish divines, that from that time, their spirits being mutually fretted, there was nothing but jangling and ill humour among them: And the Pope, not relishing such private and partial meetings while his general council was sitting, peremptorily discharged any further proceedings in it, so that after some months of fruitless contention, the meeting broke up, as might have been looked for, without coming to a final resolution in any thing. Copies of what passed on the Protestant side in this conference were sent over to England, and one of them coming into the hands of Randolph, the English resident at our court, he presented it to the Queen who, as he tells Cecil in a letter of October 24th 1561, received it graciously and read it, with this moderate observation, "that she could not reason, but that she knew what she ought to believe." In the same letter he says, that in a private conversation with our Queen upon these topics, she expressed her hopes "that the Queen her sister will not take the worse that she is not resolved in conscience in those matters that are in controversy, seeing it is neither of will nor obstinacy against God and his word." To which he answered, that he was glad to hear that of her Grace, that she was not wilfully disposed, and he trusted to her Grace and the Queen his mistress of good mind and accord in that as well as in other matters." And speaking of Knox's behaviour he says, "I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the manner thereof: His prayer is daily for her, that God will turn her obstinate heart against God and his truth, or if the holy will be otherwise, strengthen the hearts and hands of all his chosen

"and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of  
 "all tyrants," &c. in words, says Randolph, LETTER  
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 terrible enough. How was this Princess, how  
 was any woman indeed to be pitied, in being at  
 the mercy of such a man, who had such a sway,  
 and was so violently prejudiced against her!  
 She herself declares it was not obstinacy that  
 actuated her, and yet he goes to God in prayer  
 with a charge of obstinacy against her in his  
 mouth. Was this praying in faith? Or with  
 what propriety could he pray that God would  
 turn her obstinate heart, when his rough and  
 uncharacteristic deportment to her could have  
 no tendency but to harden her still more against  
 these truths of his, which, notwithstanding of his  
 self-confidence, were in many points disputable,  
 and where they were true, might have been pro-  
 posed with more credit to himself, and more good  
 effect upon her, in a softer and more persuasive  
 way?

In December this year the third general as-  
 sembly met, and among other petitions, presented  
 to the Queen and council a grievous supplication  
 about a riot committed in Edinburgh by the  
 Marquis de Elbeuf, one of the Queen's uncles,  
 which I mention, only to shew how ready the  
 members of these assemblies were to lay hold of  
 every thing which they thought might affront or

\* The supplication cries out most lamentably, "Who hereto-  
 fore has heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and  
 doors under silence of night burst up, houses searched with  
 hostility, seeking a woman, as appeareth, to oppress her," &c.  
 Of this woman, one Alison Craig, whom they make such a tragi-  
 cal noise about, is said to have been a familiar of their friend the  
 Earl of Arran's. The English resident, Randolph in a letter to  
 Secretary Cecil of December 27th expressly says in modest lan-  
 guage "the Earl of Arran is known to have had company of a

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Dec. 22.

Keith, Ap  
175.

distress their sovereign. In this assembly to petition was made to the Queen for due maintenance of the ministry, which she had promised to uphold, and which, they said, could not be held without it. It seems the zeal of their converts had not been warm enough to support the clergy, or they had still retained that part of the unreformed creed, that they could not be ministers without legal stipends. In compliance with this petition it was proposed in council, the beneficed clergy of the old form should have up a certain proportion of their revenues, for paying the extraordinaries of the Queen's household and maintenance of the reformed ministry. At this proposal the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Moray, Ross and Dunkeld, in name of their whole church, considering that now they held their livings only at the court's good pleasure, agreed with much hesitation, and offered a fourth part. But that being found not sufficient, they were obliged to yield a third, and in order to ascertain the value, they were required to give in the true and true rentals of all benefices within a limited time, those to the south of the Grampians beside

“ good handsome wench, a merchant's daughter in this tower. And the first edition of Knox's history has it in plain terms, that the riot was committed “ in despite of the Earl of Arran, who “ where the said Alison was suspected to have been.” But the supplication from the assembly takes no notice of Arran's commerce with the woman, whether decent or not. It was the Queen's uncle that was the butt of their complaint. For Arran was once the godly, and had been so zealous as to protest against idolatry so was not to be slandered with any such infamous traffick. Yet this godly zealot, who had the vanity to propose himself for a husband to Queen Elizabeth, and upon seeing his own sovereign, conceived hopes of obtaining her, having by his foolish conduct under a mask of religion entangled his father and friends in a dangerous quarrel with others of the nobility, turned at last distracted and after many years confinement died a complete idiot.

24th of January next, and all on the north  
 at the 10th of February thereafter. In con- LETTER  
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 sence of the several acts of council to this pur-  
 rentals were transmitted to court of all the  
 ices in the kingdom, two parts whereof were  
 gain with the beneficed persons, and the third  
 to be paid to collectors nominated by the  
 1, out of which her Majesty undertook to af-  
 sufficient maintenance for the new preachers.  
 appointment could not be very agreeable  
 : old possessors, and it was as little acceptable  
 se for whose benefit it was designed. The  
 iers declaimed against it as a corruption, and  
 said publicly of it in the pulpit, "that it  
 ld not prosper, for he saw two parts freely  
 en to the devil, and the third divided between  
 d and the devil."

: it might have been thought sufficient to  
 them in some kind of temper, that the mo-  
 ion of their stipends was put into the hands  
 mmittee of their own leaders, and their good  
 Wishart of Pittarow appointed to be their  
 ilder. But, as the present historiographer for  
 nd observes, "they found it to be a more Robertson's  
Hist. p. 231.  
 y matter to kindle zeal, than to extinguish a-  
 ice; these very men, whom formerly they had  
 yed with absolute authority, were now deaf  
 all their remonstrances:" And no doubt it  
 undantly mortifying to find their hopes frus-  
 , and all their pretensions eluded, by those  
 whom they thought they had reason to ex-  
 pect better things. Such of the old possessors as  
 ined them, had interest enough at the court,  
 was long directed by a Protestant council,  
 their thirds remitted to them, and none was  
 forward to obtain this remission than their  
 great



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great patron the Lord James, for his rich Priorities St. Andrews and Pittenweem; the Earl of Argyll too and the Lord Erskine came in for large pensions upon the thirds, and it has been observed that the most of the pensioners upon that fund were Protestants.\* Yet they could not but know that the court had done all for them that they had any right to look for. They now had liberty of conscience, not only allowed them by connivance, but even secured to them by royal authority, and tho' the ecclesiastical estate had agreed to their reforming scheme, they had *them* sadly humbled, their powers crushed, their public worship silenced, and their own new forms set up over the greater part of the kingdom: As to crown all their wishes, a provision was made granted them out of the pockets of their very persecutors, and a provision too which, if their most zealous abettors had done them justice might have satisfied them for a while, and be enlarged, upon an increase of their numbers, in a peaceable and regular manner.

From this time therefore of an allotment of land being designed for them, however improperly managed for their behoof, they may in some sort be considered as a formed and constituted society, under their own officers, and possessed of something like a legal sanction. For to call this a church, in the old primitive and apostolic sense of that venerable term, carries more difficulty

\* Besides all this, it seems, that the money received was properly accounted for, and their own Pitarrow, who as controller, had the management of it, was so great an eye-sore to them that they used to say of him, "the laird of Pitarrow was a good man, but the devil take the comptroller."

it than the foundation which they built upon, puts **LETTER**  
 it in our power to get over. The fabrick indeed **XXXVIII.**  
 which they raised at their first outsetting, was spec-  
 ious and showy enough in some particulars of a  
 resemblance to the original building, as their su-  
 perintendents represented the ancient Bishops, un-  
 der a new Latin name, instead of the old Greek  
 one. But still there was a fundamental defect in  
 the construction, by the want of such a proper and  
 essential mode of conveyance and succession as the  
 pattern, which they seemed to copy after, had all a-  
 long in the times of its greatest purity and sim-  
 plicity proceeded upon. However, under all this  
 defect, we must now take a view of them as if they  
 had been a church, because from this time forward  
 the society which had long born that name, gra-  
 dually sunk into obscurity, and at last dwindled  
 away almost to nothing. Only now and then  
 some few of the Romish party appeared in its de-  
 fence, and maintained a sort of running fight  
 against their now authorized adversaries.

Thus in the year 1562, one of their priests, a  
 Ninian Wingate at Linlithgow, published some fly-  
 ing papers addressed to the Queen upon the sub-  
 jects in controversy, acknowledging, in plain  
 enough terms, and in the strongly expressive vulgar  
 language of those days, the necessity of a refor-  
 mation, but petitioning for it in a regular way :  
 And some little time after, the same person challeng-  
 ed Mr. Knox himself, and sent him no fewer than  
 eighty three questions upon the disputed doctrines,  
 requiring a satisfactory answer to each of them.  
 But the people now in power crushed this tick-  
 ling correspondence by a seasonable interposition,  
 and the officious challenger was forced to flee to Ger-  
 many, where he was made Abbot of the Scots mo-  
 nastery

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nastery at Ratisbon, and died in that station. Th discouraged further attempts of the kind, especially when it was seen that not only the poor Priest but even the churchmen in high degree were spared, when any transgression of the new law could be laid to their charge. For about East 1563, the Primate himself, the Prior of Whithor, and some others of the dignified clergy, were delayed for having said mass, and brought before court of justiciary at Edinburgh on the twentieth of May, the Earl of Argyle, hereditary justice general, sitting personally in judgment, at the particular requisition of John Knox. The issue of which was, that the pannels, rather than submit to a lay court, surrendered themselves to the Queen's will, who, to humour the prosecutors committed them to prison for a while in different places, and afterwards released them by her own prerogative, which gave great offence, and raised a hideous cry against her.

Thus the governours of this new church went on with as high a hand as their predecessors on the old establishment had done. In all their assemblies, which for the most part they held twice in a year, we find the preachers insisting strenuously and sometimes in very magisterial language, on two capital points which they never forgot, destruction of idolatry, and the augmentation of their stipends. In this latter article indeed they were generally put off with good words and promises, which, as I said, their own friends at the court took care to evade, and on which occasion it deserves to be taken notice of, that they never scruple the right of patronage, which some of their pretended successors now a days cry out vehemently against. For in answer to an objection

tion made to their demands in the Queen's name, that she could not think of divesting her crown of its patronages, the assembly of December 1565 declared, "It is not our mind that her Majesty or any other patron of this realm should be defrauded of their just patronages, but we mean that whensoever her Majesty or any other patron does present any person to a benefice, the person presented shall be tried and examined by the judgment of learned men of the kirk, such as presently are the Superintendents appointed thereto: And as the presentation of benefices pertains to the patron, so ought the collation thereof, by law and reason to pertain to the kirk, of the which collation the kirk should no more be defrauded, than the patrons of their presentation."— By which we see that the first reformed kirk of Scotland admitted lay-patronage, but reserved the privilege of collation to the superintendent, who in this particular was vested with all the power ever claimed by any Bishop. It is also worthy of observation, that in their assembly held in December 1563, when "for avoiding confusion in reasoning, it was agreed that a moderator should be appointed to moderate in every assembly. Mr. John Willock superintendent of the West was the first they appointed to that office." In the subsequent assemblies held for several years, little other business was transacted than what related to the planting of kirks and punishing of offenders; in both which cases they had many difficulties to struggle with, from the feeble and yet unformed state of their society. But it was not long before they obtained a considerable acquisition of strength and confidence, from a strange revolution

LETTER  
XXXIX. revolution in the publick affairs of the nation  
which in my next letter I shall proceed to lay before you.

Mean time, I am, &c.

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L E T T E R XXXIX.

*The Reformers encouraged by the ruin of the Family of Huntly—Various Proposals of Marriage to Queen Mary—She prefers Lord Darnly, and marries him—Birth of James VI.—Repeated Instances of Darnly's Misbehaviour—He barbarously murdered—The Queen marries the Earl of Bothwell—Is imprisoned by the moderate Lords—Makes her Escape into England.*

SOON after her arrival in Scotland, the Queen had bestowed the honours and profits of the Earldom of Murray, which had been recovered to the crown during her mother's regency, her bastard brother the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, and had also intrusted him with great share of the public administration. I had been from the first, a principal leader among

formers, and now by his high trust at court, much in his power to favour and support in all their demands. On the other hand, James of Huntly, by his influence in the North, Murray's new Earldom mostly lay, and inclining now more to the Queen's party than to the other side, tho' for some time balanced between, and even trimmed with both, was a powerful enemy to the King's interest, at least in the Northern parts. This created a jealousy between him and Murray, either by accident or design, was inflamed to a degree, that Huntly was driven to the resource of taking up arms in his own

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At the same time the Queen was making progress thro' these parts, and was prepossessed by those about her, to issue her edicts against Huntly, and to grant a commission to Murray to pursue him. Upon this, Murray drew out of the neighbourhood, and came up to Huntly at Corrichie, about ten miles West of Aberdeen, where an engagement ensued, in which Huntly was defeated, and being an old man, was trodden to death in the pursuit. His second son John was carried prisoner to Aberdeen, where the Queen lay, and butchered by the executioner. His eldest son, who had no part in the affair, was thrown into prison, and his family and friends brought to the brink of ruin. This disaster was a double advantage to the reformers, as it destroyed an enemy, and created a friend who now had the whole kingdom could manage and rule the Queen as he pleased, without a rival.

Keith, 228.

At this time the Queen, now in the prime of youth and beauty, began to be addressed from the pulpit.

Y

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all quarters of Europe to change her widow-state and her uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain had made several proposals to her, sometimes of the Emperor's second son, sometimes of the Duke of Orleans, and once even of the King of France her brother-in-law, in hopes of a dispensation from the complying court of Rome. This intelligence alarmed Queen Elizabeth, who had already conceived a pique at her for having in her husband's time assumed the arms of England, and for the imprudent demand which the artful Lethington had made to Elizabeth, immediately on Mary's coming to Scotland, that she should be declared apparent heir of the English crown. To prevent therefore such a rival's marrying again with a foreign Prince, and at the same time to entangle her conduct and embarrass her resolutions, she in an artful manner made offer to Mary of an English subject, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, a man of a worthless character, tho' at the same time a great favourite with Elizabeth. In this business Mary for some time saw it convenient to counteract Elizabeth's intrigues with an equal dissimulation, and at last rejected the proposal, when it was openly made, with the indignation it deserved. Our historians, Knox and Buchanan, represent Queen Mary about this time as a foolish headstrong person who minded nothing but sport and pastime, and had as little ability as inclination for attending the public affairs. Yet the English resident Resident, whom Elizabeth had placed as a spy about her, and who was far from being partial in her favour, tells in his letters, that "she for the most part attended the council board, and when she did, was employed in some female work, as sewing, embroidering, and the like." And in  
lett

ter to Cecil, of the 8th of March 1564, he says, LETTER XXXIX. Keith, 150.  
 For expedition of poor men's causes, the Queen  
 here hath ordered three days a week, augmenting the judges stipends for their attendance,  
 and sitting herself, for more equity oftentimes."  
 which is an instance of her attention to charity  
 well as equity, that the two historians might,  
 without any hurt to their character, have trans-  
 mitted to posterity in her praise, amidst the many  
 calumnies which they have recorded to her  
 odice.

he next year the Earl of Lenox came upon A.D. 1564.  
 stage from England. This nobleman had  
 been driven out of Scotland during the Earl of  
 Moray's regency in Mary's childhood, and had  
 found shelter in England, where he was graciously  
 received by Henry VIII. and married his niece  
 Lady Margaret Douglas, whom James the fourth's  
 son had born to her second husband the Earl  
 Angus. Of this marriage there was a son  
 Lord Darnly, who in right of his mother  
 grand-mother was, next to Elizabeth and  
 Mary, presumptive heir to the crown of England.  
 On the father's return, a parliament was called  
 to reverse his attainder, which had been an act of  
 manifest injustice, and this raised a suspicion that  
 Mary had some intention to marry his son. In  
 January 1565 Darnly came down next, and pre-  
 sented himself to the Queen, who, it is said,  
 was taken with him at first sight, as he was a  
 man of a handsome appearance and fine person.  
 Without doubt too, the consideration of his title by  
 birth, and of his name and family, might have  
 prevailed with her, and meeting with the feelings  
 of her own youthful heart, might have fixed her  
 inclinations in his favour. But here again the  
 cunning



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cunning Elizabeth was at work with her artifice and dissimulation, protesting by her ambassadors against this marriage, at the same time that it is well known she was wishing it to go forward. The reforming party at home likewise took upon them to be displeased with it, because both father and son at this time professed to be Papists; and the very men, both preachers and nobles, who afterwards were Mary's bitterest enemies upon Darnly's account, were Darnly's bitterest enemies, and fiercest opposers now. The Earl of Murray in particular, pretended his disgust at the match, sometimes in open language, and at other times by sullen and affected silence. But all had no effect. For in spite of the many hypocritical remonstrances from England, and all the disloyal opposition at home, she was married to Darnly by the Bishop of Brechin, in her own chapel at Holyroodhouse, on Sunday the 29th of July, and the next day she honoured him with the title of King by public proclamation.

This marriage may justly be reckoned the fatal source of the many misfortunes, which either by her own rash conduct, or the malicious violence of enemies, the unhappy Queen Mary afterwards fell into. For tho' the person she had now made her husband was outwardly of an amiable figure, he was proud and passionate, profuse and dissipated to an extravagant degree, and made most ungrateful returns to the accomplished Princess who had favoured him with the loveliest person in Europe, and adorned him with a share of her crown. No wonder that repeated disappointments, in a match entirely of her own choice and from pure affection, stung her to the quick, and sunk that noble spirit of hers which had hitherto displayed such fortitude

trade and dignity. As soon as the marriage was solemnized, the malcontents, among whom her favourite Murray was the chief, flew out into open rebellion, and the whole remaining part of the year was employed by their Majesties in pursuing the rebels from place to place, till in end some of them submitted and were readily pardoned, and Murray with such as adhered to him fled to their old asylum of England, where Elizabeth, under a mask of disapprobation, secretly harboured them and gave them money. At home Mary renewed her indulgences to the preachers, who notwithstanding treated her and her husband with continued insolence, and could neither be easy nor quiet while their dear friend was in disgrace. Yet the Queen kept up the just sense of Murray's ingratitude, which she was determined to punish in a legal way, and to that purpose had summoned a parliament to meet on the twelfth of March 1566: When lo, upon the ninth of that month, a band of armed men, with her husband at their head, broke into her chamber in the evening while she sat at supper with her natural sister the Countess of Argyle, and there in her presence throwing by, not only the reverence due from subjects to a sovereign, but even the civility of gentlemen to ladies, and the common tenderness of the very rusticks to a woman in her condition of a six month's pregnancy, they brutally laid hands on her French secretary David Rizio, a poor decrepit foreigner, and violently hauling him out of the room, barbarously murdered him at her chamber-door with fifty six wounds. This horrid deed, so atrocious in itself, and aggravated by so many insulting circumstances, could not but cut any slender thread of love and regard that the Queen might hitherto

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hitherto have retained for a husband of such a position. But it answered the end for which was designed. The Parliament, in the midst the confusion that would naturally ensue, was charged, and the Earl of Murray with his rebel associates appeared, according to a preconcerted plan the very next day at Edinburgh, where they went boldly to the Parliament house, and took instruments of their being ready to answer to the summons which had been directed against them, which they knew none durst now appear to oppose.

Mean time the Queen, by her own wise and prudent management, had got out of the hands of the conspirators, who had kept her confined in her own palace near two days in the utmost terror, and had escaped to the castle of Dundee with her husband in company, who now by public proclamation disowned his having any part in, or knowledge of the late treasonable actions, and thereby lost among all parties what little remainder of esteem or credit he had hitherto preserved. Here the distressed and agitated Queen was again prevailed upon, and in a manner obliged to take Murray into favour, and once more threw herself under the influence of a man whom it was impossible, after what had already happened, that she could either trust or esteem. Upon a change of affairs the new band of rebels saw prudent to decamp and provide for themselves. The most of them took shelter as usual, in England, and John Knox the dictator of Edinburgh, as in his own phrase was, "stept west to Kyle," his sanctuary on any dangerous emergency, there taking guilt upon himself of his having been, not a contriver, at least an abettor of the bar-

ous murder. And indeed this suspicion, heavy  
 as it is upon his character, is justified by his  
 own account of it, which he concludes with ob-  
 serving, that "by the death of David, the noble-  
 "men were relieved of their trouble, and restor-  
 "ed to their places and rooms, and likewise the  
 "church reformed, and all that professed the  
 "evangel within this realm, after fasting and  
 "prayer, were delivered and freed from the ap-  
 "parent dangers that were like to have fallen  
 "upon them." Great things these, to be sure,  
 and all effectuated by the murder of a friendless  
 stranger, and that murder executed on a Saturday  
 night, by way of preparation for the work of the  
 morrow, which Knox says was the second Sunday  
 of their fast in Edinburgh; a fast indeed, which  
 from this bloody scene in the midst of it, seems  
 to answer too well the description reprobated by  
 the prophet, of fasting "for strife and debate, and  
 "to smite with the fist of wickedness." And yet,  
 thankful as Knox is for the deliverance of so  
 many professors by this murder, which he dimi-  
 nutively calls "the death of David," he is forced  
 to own that an equal number of as zealous pro-  
 fessors were by it thrown into the very same dan-  
 ger from which the others had been delivered.

The Queen having thus by her own address  
 dispersed this dangerous storm, returned to Edin-  
 burgh in April, and took up her lodgings in the  
 castle, where upon the nineteenth of June 1566 she  
 was, to the great joy of all her dutiful subjects,  
 safely delivered of a son, in whose person the two  
 crowns of Scotland and England were at last hap-  
 pily united, and in whose posterity they continue  
 to this day. The news of this joyful event was  
 formally announced to all the neighbouring Prin-  
 ces,

LETTER  
XXXIX. ces, and was received, wherever it was notified  
with great satisfaction. But the Queen's own pleasure in it was much abated by repeated instances of her husband's increasing misbehaviour. In a letter from the privy council of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France, dated October 8th 1566, and sent in their names by Secretary Lethington to the Archbishop of Glasgow, they lament the King's imprudence and obstinacy in resolving to leave the kingdom, notwithstanding of all the Queen's intreaties and condescensions, to pacify him and bring about a reconciliation. Even Mr. Knox himself represents him in no very agreeable light; and as one instance of his impertinent folly, which the Queen could not but be displeased with, when it came to her knowledge, he tells us, *that* "the King wrote to the Pope and to the King of Spain and France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order because the mass and popery were not again erected and laying the whole blame thereof on the Queen, as not managing the Catholic cause aright." In this perplexing situation of domestic concerns, the Queen, still mindful of affairs of state, went a progress, attended by French ambassador Le Croc, and the lords of council, of whom Murray was one, to the borders about the end of October, and there fell into a dangerous fever at Jedburgh, which kept her, the great fear of her court, more than a week in all which time Le Croc complains, in his letter to France, that her husband came little near her. But it pleased God that she recovered of this sickness, and having settled matters on the borders, she returned with her retinue towards Edinburgh, but by the way took up her residence

he house of Craigmillar, where she proposed to LETTER XXXIX.  
 stay till the baptism of the Prince, which was fix-  
 ed to the middle of December.

While she lay at this house, Lethington in pre-  
 sence of the four Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Murray,  
 and Bothwell, made a proposal to her that, if she  
 should be pleased to pardon the Earl of Morton,  
 Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and the rest  
 of Rizio's murderers, they then present should  
 use means with the rest of the nobility to bring  
 about a divorce between her and her husband,  
 without her having any hand in it. The four Keith, 352.  
 supported the Secretary's motion, and she  
 acquiesced in it only on two conditions,  
 the divorce should be gone about lawfully,  
 that it should no way prejudice her son,  
 otherwise she would endure all torments rather  
 than give her consent." Upon which the coun-  
 cil, the Secretary having used some dark and ambi-  
 guous expressions, she positively answered in some  
 time, "I will that ye do nothing whereby any  
 blot may be laid to my honour or conscience,  
 and therefore I pray you let the matter be in  
 the same state that it is, abiding till God of his  
 goodness put remedy thereto, lest ye, believing  
 that it will do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt  
 and displeasure." Towards the time appoint-  
 ed for the baptism, the Queen and court moved  
 to Perth, and there on the fifteenth of Decem-  
 ber the foreign ambassadors being all arrived, the  
 infant was baptized with great pomp, and  
 all the rites of the Romish church, by the  
 bishop of St. Andrews, and his name and  
 rank proclaimed to the people by the heralds with  
 sound of trumpet, "Charles-James James-Charles,  
 Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Roth-

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~

“ say, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and  
“ Baron of Renfrew.” It has been charged  
upon the Queen as an unpardonable crime, that  
her husband was not present at this solemnity, and  
her enemies are pleased to assign some very ri-  
culous reasons for it. But if what Camden te-  
us be true, that Queen Elizabeth, who was always  
contriving to embroil matters here, had strictly  
enjoined her ambassador the Earl of Bedford, that  
neither he nor any one of his retinue should give  
the title or honours of King to Lord Darnley  
upon that account no doubt it was thought pro-  
per that he should not appear at the baptism, be-  
cause it would have been inconsistent with the  
Keith, 360. and the Queen’s honour to have the regal title re-  
fused him at their own court, and it was neces-  
sary at that juncture not to quarrel with the Queen  
of England.

Soon after this solemnity, the King in one  
of his discontented moods went to Glasgow, where he  
was seized with a dangerous distemper, and con-  
tinued in a languishing way for some weeks. On  
hearing of this, the Queen took journey from  
Edinburgh to Glasgow, and abode with him some  
days, cherishing and comforting him by all the  
means she could think of. This, with the help  
of proper medicines, began by degrees to work a re-  
covery: to perfect which, and for the convenience  
of the best physicians, she got him transported in  
a litter to Edinburgh, and lodged in a house in the  
suburbs for the benefit of good air, near to where  
the college now stands, where she continued to  
look carefully after his health, and attended him  
as frequently as the cares of government would  
permit. But he had not been in this lodging  
two weeks, when upon Monday the tenth of Febru-

ary, about one or two in the morning, the house was blown up with powder, and his body found lying naked on the ground at some distance, without any mark of violence upon it. Such was the miserable end of this unhappy youth, who, had it not been for his own cross humour, and the cursed insinuations of a set of artful seducers who made a prey of him, might have enjoyed all the honour and happiness that could be looked for, from the situation to which he had been unexpectedly raised.

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Immediately the news of this tragical affair went abroad, and various conjectures were entertained about it. Many were ready to charge the Earls of Morton and Murray with it. Some had the assurance to blast even the Queen's reputation with it: But the general suspicion was against the Earl of Bothwel, and papers were put up in several places, accusing him of the murder, and naming his accomplices. The Earl of Lenox by letters pushed the Queen for a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it, which she undertook to forward, as soon and as duly as law would permit. So the twelfth of April was fixed for the trial of the Earl of Bothwel, and a court of justiciary with the accustomed formalities was held that day, in which Bothwel appeared as pannel, and being put to an assize was acquitted by an unanimous verdict of the whole fifteen, not because of any designed blunder in the libel, as has been maliciously alledged, but as the jury express themselves, "because it was neither proved by witnesses nor notified to be probable accusation." Two days after this the Parliament met, and was held by commissioners, at the head of whom is "John Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of our kingdom and Legate born." And yet the first



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first act of this Parliament is concerning religion and for security of the new form. On the nineteenth it rose, and either that day or the next bond was signed by a number of the nobility in favour of the Earl of Bothwel, bearing testimony to his acquittal of the King's murder, recommending him as upon many accounts a proper husband to the Queen, and pledging their joint assistance in defence of that marriage, "as they shall swear to God, and upon their fidelities and consciences, and in case they do in the contrary never to have reputation or credit in any time hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and faithless traitors."

This was the most hellish trap, that could have been laid for the poor destitute Queen's ruin. And into this trap, either by misfortune or her own imprudence, she fell. For on the fifteen of May next, after some previous measures taken with that view, all which may be considered as deviations from her former character, she was married to the Earl of Bothwel by Adam Bothwel the titular Bishop of Orkney of the new form who afterwards became one of her most violent enemies and bitterest accusers in England. This was the fatal step that completely ruined her, in person, peace, and reputation: a step which, with all the palliations that may be offered for it (and many such, to be sure, it may admit of,) cannot be fully vindicated. Indeed it can hardly be accounted for, much less excused, but by attributing it to a certain dejection and debasement of spirit, which the unworthy and unmerited usage she had suffered for two years might have occasioned in any woman, and which seems for a while to have interrupted that penetration and foresight of which she had

had till now given most conspicuous proofs, and afterwards displayed with amazing and admired lustre. LETTER XXXIX.

But whatever may be said for or against this marriage, the effects of it were both sudden and lamentable: She soon had cause to repent her rashness, and the very man for whom she had both humbled and cast herself away, behaved to her in so provoking a manner, that she was often heard, in the bitterness of anguish, to threaten her own destruction. To add to her misfortunes, in less than three weeks, her old enemies, and some even of those who had so lately signed the above-mentioned bond, with the newly pardoned rebel Morton at their head, took hold of this marriage with the suspected murderer of her husband, to associate themselves under pretence of revenging that murder, and preserving the young Prince: And having gathered a body of men and possessed themselves of the city of Edinburgh, they marched out on the fifteenth of June against the Queen and Bothwel, who had also a considerable army, and came up with them at Carberry-hill. Here the Queen, averse from the shedding of blood, and trusting to Kirkaldy of Grange, who from the associated Lords gave her many fair promises, dismissed her army, and surrendered herself to Grange, who, with great professions of reverence, led her on horseback to his party. This was all they aimed at: For no notice was taken of Bothwel, the ostensible object of their indignation, nor for ten days after this was there the least public mention of such a man in the kingdom. That evening they carried the Queen into Edinburgh, exposed to the wanton insults of a tumultuous mob purposely collected on the occasion, and the next day

Melvil's  
Mémairs.

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Keith, 404.


day, at her own desire they removed her to the palace of Holyroodhouse, where a serious consultation was held how to provide for their own security after so daring and hazardous an attempt. To effect this, it was resolved to confine the Queen for life in the castle of Lochleven, the governor of which was married to the Earl of Murray's mother. To this fort she was conveyed in disguise that very night by the Lord Lindsay, the fiercest of all the party, and after a few days was stripped of all her princely attire, and clad in a coarse brown cassock. This done, they took an inventory of all her plate, jewels, and other moveables within the palace, broke up her cupboard, melted down the gold and silver, and converted all into coin. Not satisfied with all this, they dispatched their trusty Agent Lord Lindsay to Lochleven who upon the twenty fourth of July by the vile threats extorted from the solitary and friendly Queen a subscription to two papers of their own drawing, the one a resignation of the crown in favour of her son, and the other a commission of Regency to the Earl of Murray, both which she put her trembling hand to, amidst a flood of tears, and without reading a word of the contents.

Keith, 425.

In this melancholy confinement she was denied all the comforts of life. The French and English ambassadors, who were sent to mediate between her and her subjects, were not admitted to her presence. Her friends and servants were shut out from her: The Earl of Murray, when he came to pay her a visit, bullied her in a most brutal manner: His mother daily insulted her; and to complete her misery, she was reduced to languish in a most tormenting state of suspense about her

Note Melv.  
85.

she, still uncertain what fresh barbarities, even to LETTER XXXIX.  
the length of private assassination, might be con-  
trived against her. Yet she still entertained hopes,  
and, as much as she could, formed plans of escap-  
ing, which in end proved effectual. For in the  
evening of the second of May 1568, her Majesty,  
with one waiting maid, got out of the castle, and  
were conveyed in a boat to the south-shore of the  
Loch, where some trusty friends received her, and  
transported her directly to Lord Seton's house in  
West Lothian, and from thence, after a few hours  
refreshment, to her friends at Hamilton. On this  
joyful news, great numbers of the nobility and  
gentry flocked to her from all quarters, and on the  
eighth of May entered into a bond of association  
for her defence, signed by nine Earls, nine Bi-  
shops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots, and ninety  
principal Barons. Meantime the Earl of Murray,  
who was acting as Regent, convened his forces  
with all diligence, and on the thirteenth intercept-  
ed the Queen's army, who were conducting her  
from Hamilton to Dunbarton, at a place called  
Langside, not far from Glasgow, where a battle  
ensued, and ended in a total discomfiture of the  
loyalists. The Queen herself, when she saw that  
all was lost, rode off at full speed, with a few faith-  
ful attendants, and never closed her eyes till she  
was full sixty miles from the fatal field. Then she  
took a resolution, contrary to the earnest intreaties  
of all the loyal friends that were about her, to com-  
mit herself to the protection of her good sister of  
England: And accordingly, on the sixteenth, she  
and honest Lord Harries, who never forsook her,  
took passage from Galloway, in a fisher boat, over  
the Solway Frith, and that same night landed at  
Wirkington on the English side, from whence she  
went;

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XXXIX.  went to Cockermouth, and remained there till the English deputy assembled the gentlemen of the county, and conducted her in great pomp to Carlisle. Thus we have seen this unfortunate Prince once the admiration of Europe, driven out of his own hereditary dominions by a junto of rebellious subjects, and now landed, as she thought, in a safe asylum, out of the reach of their mercile fury. But alas! little to her comfort: For she was now fallen into hands, not indeed quite savage as those she had fled from, but equally tenacious of their prey, and from which she could never work an escape, till a scaffold gave her the blessing. This is that strange Revolution which I said, placed our new church upon a seemingly more secure foundation, and gave them, from that time forward, a visible superiority over their rivals of the old form. We shall therefore leave the Queen for a while in her new sanctuary, and see how the *Kirk* of Scotland improved the advantage which this Revolution held out to them. But of this in my next.

Mean time I am, &c.

LETTER

## L E T T E R    X L.

*dings in the Assemblies of the Kirk—The  
nt Prince crowned, and Murray declared  
ent—Account of the Regent's first Parlia-  
t, and Proceedings against the Queen—he  
ays Norfolk, imprisons Maitland—and is  
self shot on the Street of Linlithgow—Re-  
tions on his Death, and Consequences of it.*

he General Assembly of the Kirk held in  
ember 1566, two things occurred that de-  
o be taken notice of. Mr Knox having pe-  
d the assembly for leave to visit his children,  
ere at their studies in England, he received  
endatory letters in ample form, and did also  
the assembly, to take this opportunity of  
g to the English Bishops, in behalf of such of  
ergy as scrupled to wear the surplice, and  
clerical vestments of that church. Accord-  
the letter written by the assembly on this oc-  
, is very properly made use of, to shew in  
favourable light the Superintendency in Scot-  
held the Episcopacy in England, as a pure  
church, “ who had renounced the Roman  
Vol. II.                    A 2                    “ Antichrist,

LETTER “ Antichrist, and profest with them the Lord  
 XL. “ sus in sincerity, therefore wishing them the i  
 “ crease of the Holy Spirit.” Indeed, we are n  
 Keith, 565. told that this letter was delivered, and therefo  
 know not how it was received, or what acknow  
 ledgment of sisterly communion came from En  
 land, where Knox was well known, and when  
 however useful his intrigues might be to the sta  
 his principles could not be very acceptable to a  
 church.

The other affair, worthy of notice, that came  
 before this assembly, was the Queen’s having  
 poned the Archbishop of St. Andrews to his f  
 mer jurisdiction, in confirming testaments, coll  
 ing to benefices, and such other things as h  
 usually been judged in the spiritual courts; again  
 which, a most vehement supplication was present  
 to the nobility, that they would prevent this  
 Spotsf. 198. tempt “ to cure the head of that venomous bea  
 “ which once, within this realm, by the pote  
 “ hand of God, was so banished and broke  
 “ down.” But whether it was owing to this su  
 plication, or any other cause, we do not find t  
 Primate exercising this restored jurisdiction, e  
 cept in the ill-judged instance of Bothwell’s divorce  
 which opened the door to all the miserable diso  
 ders that followed.

Before the usual time of the next assembly, th  
 Queen was locked up in Lochleven. It sat dow  
 on the 25th of June, and for eschewing confusion  
 Keith, 572. we are told, the famous Mr George Buchanan, t  
 whom the Queen had given a large pension on th  
 Abbey of Crossraguel, and who was now Princ  
 pal of St. Leonard’s College in St. Andrews, w  
 chosen Moderator. Their great employment, i  
 this meeting, was to cement the divisions whic  
 th

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the Queen's present situation was like to raise among those of their own party. For many of the principal nobility, who had no good will to Bothwell, nor to the marriage, and therefore had either joined him or stood neuter on the first appearance against him, now when they saw to what unwarrantable lengths the opposition was carried, and what horrid inhumanity had been used against their betrayed Sovereign, declared openly against these unjustifiable enormities, and convened at Hamilton to concert measures for her deliverance. The associated Lords, who called themselves the *secret Council*, tho' they were only the four Earls of Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, and the six Lords, Hume, Ruthven, Lindsay, Semple, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree, (for Murray all the time was abroad) being sensible of their own declining influence, and how needful it would be to bring over the other Lords if possible, wrote letters to them, intreating their concurrence to establish things in a perfect harmony. But the Lords at Hamilton, being at the time six Earls and fifteen Lords, of whom the greatest part were *Presbyters*, as the style then was, would neither admit the messenger, nor receive the letters. So the assembly was applied to for their interest with, and authority over these outstanders, and John Knox, with other three brethren, were employed in commission, with letters from the assembly, desiring their punctual attendance in Edinburgh on the 20th of July next, when the assembly was to sit down again, and concluding "With certification to all  
"and sundry, of what estate and degree soever they  
"be, that compeir not, due advertisement being  
"thus made, that they shall be reputed hereafter  
"as hinderers of this godly purpose, and as dis-

A a 2


Keith, 575.

"sembling



AFTER "sembling brethren, unworthy to be esteemed  
 XL. "Christ's flock; seeing God of his mercy, at this  
 "present, has offered some better occasion than  
 "in times bygone, and has begun to tread down  
 "Satan under foot."

However, this canting expostulation had no effect. These Lords were too wise, for their own safety, to trust themselves in such hands at Edinburgh, and too much concerned for their Queen to countenance with their presence what was going on against her. They therefore sent their several excuses, at the same time declaring their unshaken resolution to abide by their Protestant profession, and to adhere to and support the present reformed polity of the Kirk within the realm. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the assembly met on the 21st of July, and were joined by Morton and his associates, to give their assembly acts the sanction of the then pretended legislature, by virtue of which, sundry articles were proposed and agreed on among them; as, that the acts of parliament 1560 should be law in all time coming; that ministers should be put in possession of the whole patrimony of the Kirk; that the horrible murder of the King should be condignly punished; that the young Prince should be properly educated; that the high trust he was one day to execute; that nobility should beat down and abolish Popery, idolatry, and superstition, with every thing that may contribute thereto, and for this, to convene and take arms if need require; and that all Kings and Queens, hereafter in this realm, shall, before their coronation, take an oath to maintain the true religion now professed in Scotland, and to suppress every thing contrary to it, or not agreeing with it. These articles were subscribed by three of their  
 Earls

and five of their Lords, (for Athol and LETTER  
tho' the Queen's enemies, were Popish, XL.  
did not attend a Protestant assembly) and  
all Barons and Commissioners of Burghs.  Spotf. 209.

alone, the assembly rose, and another followed.  
succeeded. The Lord Lindsay was by  
returned from Lochleven, with the two  
subscriptions which he had squeezed  
captive Queen, and now a resolution was  
proceed to the coronation of the Prince.

to which, a messenger was again sent to  
at Hamilton, inviting them to give their  
at Stirling on the 29th of July, for assist-  
such a solemn occasion. But they rejected  
also, and retiring for security to Dun-  
entered into a new association for the  
interest, and in opposition to these pro-

Yet the ceremony went on; and upon  
1, 1567, the royal infant, little more than  
d, was brought into the parish kirk of  
where, after a suitable sermon by Mr  
and the coronation oath, as lately coined,  
the Earl of Morton, he was first anointed  
crowned by the Bishop of Orkney. Mr Keith, 439.  
re are told, repined much at the anointing,  
smelling of superstition, or because per-  
by a Bishop, to whose character it was  
to belong. But if this was the cause of  
r'grudge, he had the pleasure to see this  
crowned Bishop sufficiently humbled in the  
assembly, which publicly deprived him  
of the ministry, for the great scandal  
committed in marrying the Queen with the  
Bothwell, under which scandal he was as-  
singing at the coronation in July, as he was at  
marriage in December. Why this scandal  
was

LETTER XL. was not inquired into sooner, as there had been two assemblies since the commission of it, is not easy to account for, if it was not with a view to spare him, guilty as he was, for this present service, which they thought, it seems, could not properly be done without him. However, the man being useful to the party, and ready to serve as his turn, was, upon his submission, restored to his dignity next year, and thereby enabled to appear in England, as a commissioned accuser of that very marriage which himself had performed, and which at the time of performing, he knew to be as censurable as it could appear to him afterwards. At this coronation, the English resident had orders from his mistress not to be present, to give a sort of outward testimony of her disapprobation of it. While, by her underhand dealing, she had been instrumental in bringing it forward. It is also somewhat surprizing, that the Earl of Athol should have assisted so actively as to carry the crown of Scotland at it, when, only five days before, he had sent advice to the Queen, by Sir Robert Melville, not to hazard her life, by refusing her subscription to any paper that should be presented to her, assuring her, that nothing extorted from her by force or done by her in prison, could affect her title, or do her any prejudice. Such duplicity and dissimulation prevailed at that time among all ranks of people, and so impossible was it for the openhearted unsuspicious Mary to make her way, with that degree of propriety, thro' the many dangerous snares that surrounded her on all sides.

Things being thus in so far prepared, the Earl of Murray, who, tho' absent we know not where had been the great mover of all these bold machinations, made his appearance at Edinburgh on the eleventh

tenth of August, and after having fed his eyes  
 the sight of his now wretched sister at Loch-  
 was prevailed upon, by repeated entreaties  
 with much affected hesitation, to take on him  
 fice of Regent, which had been by such cruel  
 s procured for him, and which, on the  
 y second, he was pleased to accept, with all  
 ormalities of swearing, and had his accepta-  
 roclaimed the same day at the market cross,  
 charge to all the lieges, "to give obedience  
 he Lord Regent in all things, under pain of  
 son." The first thing he did, was to pu-  
 an order, the very second day of his office,  
 lling in and destroying all the public seals of  
 ingdom which carried the name and title of  
 een. Then he bought the government of the  
 of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, a  
 re, but a faithless one, of the Earl of Both-  
 and gave it to his old accomplice Kirkaldy  
 ange. He next got possession of the two  
 fies of Dunbar and Inchkeith, and demolish-  
 em both. Such of the gentlemen of the  
 and Lothians as he suspected of retaining  
 old allegiance, were either summoned to ap-  
 before him and his council, or commanded  
 er their persons in such prisons as he should  
 it.

LETTER  
XL.



Keith, 459.

as the Regent went on, taking every me-  
 to distress and humble the Queen's friends,  
 thought proper to call, what is styled the  
 arliament of James VI. consisting of four  
 Bishops and fourteen Abbots, twelve Earls,  
 Lords, three Masters, thirty commissioners  
 ghs, and five officers of state, in all eighty three  
 ers. And here every thing succeeded to his  
 His regency under the young King was  
 confirmed:

D. cr. 15.  
1567.

LETTER confirmed: The Queen's resignation was declar-  
 XL. ed to be valid, and by one of the strangest blun-  
 ders that could have entered into wise people  
 heads, and which to their public disgrace stand  
 upon the records to this day, they declare, "th-  
 " the cause and occasion of the conventions be-  
 " by the Earls, Lords, Barons, and other true an-  
 " faithful subjects, and their taking arms an-  
 " coming to the open fields with displayed ba-  
 " ners, and seizing the Queen's person upon the  
 " 15th day of June last bypast, and generally an-  
 " other things invented, spoken, written or done  
 " by them or any of them to that effect, since  
 " the 10th day of February that King Henry  
 " was slain, was all in the said Queen's own de-  
 " fault, in as far as by divers her privy letters  
 " written wholly with her own hand, and sent by  
 " her to James Earl of Bothwell, chief executioner  
 " of that horrible murder, it is certain she was  
 " privy, art and part of the same." Now it is  
 fact that the most of the nobility here present, if not  
 all of them, except Murray who took care to be out  
 of the way, had, little more than eight months be-  
 fore this, given public testimony to Bothwell's in-  
 nocence of this crime, and under their hands and  
 seals recommended him to the Queen as a pro-  
 per husband. But the great blunder, so ver-  
 glaring to common sense, is, that these *Privy Let-  
 ters*, which are thus held forth as the original  
 cause and foundation of all their proceeding  
 against the Queen, were not, by their own con-  
 fession, in their custody nor known to them till the  
 twentieth of June, five days after they had seized  
 the Queen's person, on which day the Earl of  
 Morton, as himself judicially averred, on the  
 twenty sixth, before two of his partners Athol and  
 Grange.

Grange, got them by some means or other into LETTER XL.  
his hands.\*

But to proceed. The general assembly sat down about the same time with the parliament, to be at hand with their supplications, and to take care of "the one thing needful," the patrimony of the kirk. Accordingly they got an act passed, "that no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction be acknowledged within this realm, than that which is and shall be within this same kirk established presently, or which floweth therefrom, &c." And another for putting the article about the birds into execution, which, after all the fair promises that had been made them, was all that they could get done in their favour at this time. The Parliament too had long consultation what course to take with the Queen, and after some little struggle by a few of the more moderate, it was concluded by the majority that she should be detained and kept in perpetual prison.

On the third of January four persons were ex-A.D. 1588. ecuted for the murder of Darnly, viz. Dalgleish, Hepburn, Powrie, and Hay, all of them servants to the Earl of Bothwell, who tho' they all charged their master and themselves, yet none of them could be influenced to asperse the Queen at the greatest distance with any foreknowledge of it. On the fourteenth of February an act of council came forth, ordering the lead to be taken from

\* The forgery and infamous design of these poultry letters, upon which so much noise has been made, even by some eminent historians, to the prejudice of this injured Princess, have of late been fully proved by our ingenious countrymen Goodal and Tytler, and last of all by the English *Whitaker*, a writer of uncommon vigour and accuracy, and who has settled the point of Mary's innocence, beyond all contradiction.

LETTER the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin  
 XI. and sold for sustentation of the Regent's army  
 and charging the Earl of Huntly, as sheriff of  
 Aberdeen, and Dunbar of Cumnock, sheriff of Elgin, with the Magistrates of the two burghs, and the two Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, Gordon and Hepburn, who were still on the Popish side, to assist and support the council's servants, Alexander Clark and William Birnie, in executing this scandalous and disagreeable order.\* The new disaster which about this time befell the Queen after her escape from Lochleven, fortified Murray's power, which for some months he exercised with great rigour and cruelty on all who had appeared on the Queen's side, but especially against the Hamiltons, to whom he had long born a mortal spite.

\* A tradition is preserved about Aberdeen, that this William Birnie, having shipped a cargo of this lead for Holland, was lost with ship and cargo off the Girdleness, as a judgment, some will say, on such sacrilegious traffic.

† An unlooked for affair put an interruption to his proceedings for some time. Our Queen, on her landing in England, had written again and again to Elizabeth, complaining in strong terms of the usage she had met with from her rebellious subjects, and earnestly requesting her good sister's protection and assistance against them. Upon which, Elizabeth, tho' well pleased to have her hated rival now so much in her power, found herself obliged by all the ties of equity, and even rules of decency, to take notice of these complaints. Accordingly she sent a sharp message to Murray, whom she knew she had at her beck, telling him that howsoever he and others had forgot their duty to their sovereign she would not neglect her sister and neighbour Queen, and therefore requiring him to send commissioners to give account of his proceedings against his Queen, otherwise she would restore him with all the power she had. In consequence of this message, the Regent set out himself, attended by his associates Morton, Livingston, the Bishop of Orkney, and some more, and came to York, the place appointed, on the fifth of October. This

LETTER  
XL.

A.D. 1569.

The chief of that family the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been mostly abroad since the Queen's marriage with Darnly, on his coming home, wrote a letter to the general assembly, which was then sitting, recommending such measures as might tend to restore the peace of the kingdom. But the assembly were so attached to Murray, that little regard was paid to the Duke's letter: Only the superintendents laboured to bring about a reconciliation between these two noblemen, who had both been useful to them; and they so far effected it, that the Duke came to Edinburgh, in company with Lord Herries, who was still doing his best for the Queen's interest, but on his refusing the conditions which Murray proposed, both he and Herries were committed prisoners to the castle.—About this time the Lord Boyd brought a commission from Mary, desiring that the marriage between her and Bothwell might be dissolved, and she left at liberty to marry as she pleased. For now the Duke of Norfolk, who had been Elizabeth's principal commissioner both at York and Westminster, and in the course of the process had seen undoubted proofs of Mary's innocence, was

came also Leslie Bishop of Ross, with the Lords Boyd, Livingston and Harries, commissioners from Queen Mary, and on the 8th both parties met before the Duke of Norfolk, and some of the English nobility, empowered by Elizabeth to hear and examine the cause, but restricted to leave the final determination of it to herself. The result of all this designed farce however was, that the injured Mary met neither with civility nor justice, and on the 12th of January 1569, Murray and his party got licence from Elizabeth to return home, under pretence of providing for the peace of the country which, had Elizabeth been sincere and upright, might have been as well cared for by liberating the Queen as by dismissing Murray.



LETTER XL. so taken with her character, that he began to form a wish, and even to entertain hopes of marrying her, in which hopes he was encouraged by some of the principal nobility of England, and these some of Elizabeth's own favourites. Some hints of this, and of Elizabeth's designs against Mary's succession to the English crown, Norfolk first in confidence communicated to Murray, when he was on his way home, and stood in need of the Duke's friendship: And Murray, to secure favour, had promised his assistance and secrecy in the affair. But when, in order to pave the way for this project, the divorce from Bothwell was proposed in a convention of the states held at Murray at Perth, he not only got the meeting to reject the proposal, but was so base as to send a messenger to Elizabeth, with private intelligence of all Norfolk's views, and warning her, as a friend, to take care of herself in time: which was the means of bringing that worthy Protestant nobleman to the scaffold, and provoked jealous Elizabeth to remove our Queen to Coventry, under the custody of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntington.

This business, which was so foully and fatally betrayed by Murray, had been much solicited and encouraged by his associate Maitland of Lethington, who, tho' he had hitherto gone all length with the rest in prosecuting and calumniating the Queen, yet now, either from conscience or compassion, or a natural bent he had to be still displaying his talents for plotting, began to veer about a little to the Queen's side, and to plot some distant schemes for her restoration. His new master Murray, who was as cunning as he, soon suspected something of this, and to be revenged

nd of him, employed a captain Crawford, a **LETTER**  
 re of the Earl of Lenox, to appear before **XL.**  
 ouncil at Stirling, and openly accule Lething-  
 while he was sitting there by virtue of his  
 is secretary, of being accessory to the King's  
 r. Upon this hasty charge, Lethington was  
 and sent under a strong guard to Edin- **Spotf. 234.**  
 to be tried. But his friend Grange, ano-  
 the party, and then governor of the cas-  
 scued him out of the guard's hands, and  
 him under his own protection. In what-  
 view we shall behold this strange piece of  
 s, it must exhibit the characters of those  
 ned, in a very odious light. If Lethington  
 stly accused, what shall we think of a man  
 ould in such a public manner prosecute  
 stress his sovereign for a crime which he  
 stood guilty of? And how does it consist  
 he character of the godly Earl of Murray,  
 e employed and been so highly obliged to  
 wretch in that scandalous prosecution? If  
 the accusation was unjust; what shall we  
 of Murray, for taking such measures to ruin  
 who had been so singularly serviceable in  
 od cause, for no other reason but because  
 an to see things in another light, and to  
 ome pity to the miseries of a persecuted  
 s; who was sister to one of them, and fo-  
 to them all.

while Murray was busied with the thoughts **Jan. 23,**  
 ticklish trial, he was, on his way from **1570.**  
 g to Edinburgh, shot thro' the belly, in the  
 of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Both-  
 gh, and died in a few hours after. A man  
 om I shall only say, that after the most im-  
 view of his character or conduct, it is ex-  
 tremely

LETTER XL. tremely difficult to discover, from what part of it was entitled to the honourable appellation of *good Regent*. It is needless to mention the provocation which, it is said, the murderer had with,† as if that could be any excuse for the barbarous action, since, in conformity to the precept of the gospel, it is certain, that no provocation can warrant or justify private and deliberate assassination, in the eye of that Judge who has said, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay.” Only I will take the freedom to observe, with regard to those who set up for a particular degree of purity in religious profession, that they would do well to pretexts themselves consistently in all such cases, to talk of the assassination of the Popish Cardinal Beaton, or the insignificant David Rizio, with the same abhorrence that they do of the murder of King Henry Darnley, or the *good* Earl of Murray, all which were acts of murder prohibited by christian law, and to be had in equal detestation as all who assume the christian name.

By this unexpected blow, matters were thrown into great confusion. The Queen’s friends continued to stir in her cause, and Elizabeth, who could easily have cast the balance on either side, made it her business to keep up the contest, by shewing of friendly mediation. The Earl of Morton, who, next to Murray, had the principal management of that party, took the opportunity of this vacancy to call a meeting of his associates, which he got his old friend Lethington pur-

† Part of his estate had been bestowed upon one of the king’s favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his wife naked in a cold night into the open fields, where, before morning, she became furiously mad.

of the accusation given in by Crawford against him, and "recognized as an honest man, and a good and profitable member of the common-wealth." The General Assembly, which was sitting about the time of Murray's murder, ordered the murderer, and all that should be convicted of having a hand in it, to be excommunicated in all the chief burghs of the realm, tho' they had publicly prayed for Lord Ruthven and the other murderers of Rizio, when absconding in England, as people in distress for the cause of God and religion. It was also ordained in this assembly, "that forth of the thirds five thousand merks should be yearly paid for furnishing the King's house, and the kirk burdened with no further duty." At the first allotment of the thirds for their behoof, the necessities of the Queen's house were first to be provided for, and the overplus only was assigned for them. But this scanty provision had occasioned many heavy complaints, and now that, by Murray's kindness, they had got the taking up of the thirds into their own hands, they assumed also the liberty of modifying their benefactor's share, and were determined that whatever became of the King's house, "the kirk should be burdened with no further duty."

I am, &c.

LETTER


LETTER  
XLI.

## L E T T E R XLI

*The Earl of Lenox declared Regent—  
Dunbarton, and puts the Archbishop of  
drews to Death—is killed in Stirling,  
ceeded in the Regency by the Earl of 1  
The Government of the Kirk new moe  
brought nearer to the Episcopal Form—  
of the Kirk under the Regencies of 1  
Morton—Innovation in the Governn  
by Mr. Andrew Melvil—Rise and  
of Presbytery—The Raid of Ruthven  
by an Assembly—Turbulent Humo  
Kirk.*

July 12.  
1570.

**A**FTER some months of a continued  
between the contending parties,  
of Lenox, the Queen's father-in-law,  
her rigid enemy, was declared regent,  
after his promotion, set aside Morton's  
of Lethington, took the Secretary's of  
him, and proclaimed him rebel. On 1  
hand, the Duke, the Earls of Argyle a

and others of the Queen's friends, held par-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 ents in her name, and by her commission, <sup>XLI.</sup>  
 directed "the Superintendents, ministers,   
 horters, and readers, in their public service,  
 pray for the Queen as their only Sove-  
 gn, for the Prince her son, for the council, no-  
 ty, and whole body of the commonwealth." .  
 wherever their authority prevailed, this di-  
 n, notwithstanding the assembly's prohibition,  
 or the most part observed. At Edinburgh,  
 Knox, rather than comply with it, left his  
 , which was taken possession of by Bishop  
 n of Galloway. From Edinburgh, Knox  
 to St. Andrews, where he met with great  
 tion from two Professors of philosophy in  
 w College, who stood firm to the Queen's  
 and drew many of the students after them.  
 ch did political principles, even then, scpa-  
 sole who agreed in most other points, and  
 ossessed an equal zeal for a religious refor-  
 l.\*

this perplexed and divided state, matters  
 a year or two, the Earl of Lenox, as Re-  
 for his grandson, holding his parliaments  
 he best could, and the Queen's Lords

has been said, that the protestants were all of them the  
 enemies, and that she had no friends but among those of  
 persuasion. But this appears to be a false assertion,  
 e find many of the papists among her bitter enemies ;  
 the other hand, some of her best friends and firmest  
 re, the Duke of Chatelherault, and his son the Lord  
 of Arbroath, the Earl of Argyle, the Lords Living-  
 Boyd, and Hennis, Gordon Bishop of Galloway, Carle-  
 the Isles, and many others, were as zealous protestants,  
 hearty promoters of a reformation, according to the cur-  
 principles of the times, as John Knox and the furious  
 that were led by him.

LETTFR holding theirs with equal claims of legality, b  
 XLI. with various success, according as the Queen  
 ~~~~~ England, who had the balance in her hand  
 thought fit to stand neuter or throw in h
 weight against the Queen's scale. The most m
 terial advantage gained by Lenox in the con
 tion, was the recovery of the strong castle o
 Dunbarton, which had hitherto been kept for th
 Queen by the Lord Fleming, but was at last su
 prized by Captain Crawford, and all within i
 except Lord Fleming who escaped, made prison
 ers. Among them was the Archbishop of St
 Andrews, who had taken refuge in that fortress
 from the implacable resentment of the Earl o
 Murray, and now fell into as merciless hands
 For he was immediately carried to Stirling unde
 a strong guard, and there without any forma
 trial, but barely upon the forfeiture laid again
 him in one of their contendible parliaments, h
 was publicly hanged on a gibbet erected for th
 purpose, on the first day of April 1571. Thi
 was a silly and unmanly stroke of family-reven
 in Lenox, who had the execution hurried on i
 such an unbecoming manner, lest the Queen
 England should have interceded for the unhap
 Prelate. There is some ground to suspect th
 Morton, who had been long gaping for the r
 venues of St. Andrews, and who managed Len
 as he pleased, had been the chief promoter of t
 Primate's hasty fate: For immediately upon
 death, Morton solicited so strongly for the rich te
 poralities of that see, and, by threatening to le
 the court in case of a refusal, so overawed Len
 who could not do without him, that he obtain
 a gift of them, which thro' all the various for
 of polity that ensued, he took care not to p
 with.

Scots. 252.

The possession of Dunbarton, and the death of Archbishop Hamilton, gave such spirits to Lenox and his party, that in the month of August he called a Parliament at Stirling, in which, among other things, an act passed that "all lands and possessions which had in former times been held of Priors, or Prioreesses, or of Convents of any kind, should from that time forth be held of the crown." The assembly now sitting at Stirling had got intelligence of this design while it was forming, and were not a little alarmed at it, especially after getting a letter from Mr. Knox, who was at St. Andrews indisposed, and could not attend them, in which he apprizes them of what was going on, and warns them, "as they would not be thought unfaithful to the Lord Jesus, to withstand these merciless devourers of the church's patrimony." To guard against this attempt therefore, and to preserve the prospect they had, of some time or other recovering these lands out of the hands of those who at present held them only by force or connivance, which they could not expect to do if once they were settled in the crown by law, the assembly gave commission to certain brethren, to go to the Regent and estates of Parliament, "humbly to desire and request, in name of the kirk, the granting of such heads and articles, and redressing of such complaints, as should be given in to them by the kirk."

But while this affair was in agitation, it happened that Lenox was slain in the street of Stirling on the fourth of September 1571, in a scuffle with a party of the Queen's friends, headed by Lord Claud Hamilton, who, to be revenged on Lenox for his disgraceful treatment of his uncle

LETTER the Archbishop, had thought to surprize him a
 XLI. his Parliament, and make them all prisoners.

~~~~~ On the death of Lenox, the Earl of Mar was immediately named his successor, and to him application was made for the same purpose just mentioned: On which it was mutually agreed that a meeting should be held of a certain number from the kirk, and as many from the state for adjusting matters. In prosecution of this agreement, an assembly met at Leith in January next year, and delegated six of their own number to meet with as many from the council, "to treat, reason, and conclude concerning the settlement of the polity of the church." The delegates, after diverse meetings and long deliberation, came to this resolution, that the old ecclesiastical polity should be revived, only with such alterations as the change of religion had made necessary: That they who were to have the office and power, should have also the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops: that the old division of the dioceses should take place, the patrimony of the church be properly applied, and every bishop have spiritual jurisdiction in his own diocese. In a word, excepting the neglected article of consecration of Bishops, which was strangely overlooked, every other part of the constitution was adopted, seems to have been pretty much on the plan of true and real episcopacy.

In consequence of this settlement, Mr. John Douglas, who had been chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, and was now Provost of the new college of St. Andrews, was nominated to that archiepiscopal See, Mr. James Boyd to Glasgow, Mr. James Paton to Dunkeld, Mr. Andrew Grant to Dunblain, and Mr. George Douglas to Moray.

Most of the other Sees had been filled before. LETTER XLI.  
 Gordon was Bishop of Galloway, Bothwell Titular of Orkney, Stuart of Caithness, Hamilton of Argyre, Campbell of Brechin, and Carswell of the Isles, none of whom had episcopal consecration but Gordon of Galloway, and some of them not even Priest's orders, yet acted, with consent of the assembly, and in conjunction with the old superintendents, who, as long as they lived, retained the name and office, in such branches of prelati- cal power as were committed to them. How Mr. Knox relished this regulation, we are not told. He was now returned to Edinburgh, on the Queen's friends having left it, in terms of a patched up treaty between them and the Earl of Mar; but his influence seems to have been much on the decline. Besides, he was now grown old and infirm. The disappointments he had met with from many of his party, who made a very different use of their power from what he intended, had sunk his spirits, and he died on the 27th of November, in the 67th year of his age.

This year, so remarkable for having introduced a name of protestant episcopacy into Scotland, A.D. 1522.  
 was a melancholy year to that cause in France, by a general and unexpected massacre of the Protestants over all the kingdom, which was cursed- ly contrived, under a mask of kindness and reconciliation, by the Queen-mother, Catharine of Medicis, and in which the brave Admiral Co- Aug. 24.  
 igny, and many thousands of different ages and sexes without distinction, miserably perished. At home, the Earl of Mar died in October, and was succeeded in office as Regent by the Earl of Morton, who after much intriguing, now at last got up to that pinnacle of power to which his ambi- tion,

LETTER XLII. tion had been long directed. The first public-  
 thing he undertook, was to reduce the castle of  
 Edinburgh, which had stood out under Kirkaldy  
 of Grange the Governor, against the three late Re-  
 gents, but was now, by the force of an army and  
 artillery from England, compelled to surrender to  
 Morton, who soon after condemned his old inti-  
 mate friend Grange, the best and bravest man of  
 the whole faction, to be hanged at the market  
 cross.\* His other partner in iniquity, Maitland  
 of Lethington, whom he had lately "recognised  
 "an honest man," and whose rare but mis-em-  
 ployed talents had been so serviceable to them all  
 in dethroning and calumniating their sovereign,  
 rather than be made such a shameful spectacle  
 of, as his friend Grange had been, made away  
 with himself by poison, and so avoided the igno-  
 miny of a public execution.

May 29,  
 1573.

Spots. 272.

While Morton was thus carrying all before him, to the entire suppression of the Queen's cause in Scotland, the assemblies of the kirk were going on with great keenness upon their improved plan, still paying a certain degree of deference to the Bishops and superintendents, and putting the Regent in mind of their wants and grievances. And indeed they had need of all their wits about them to watch against his avarice and duplicity. He had with artful professions of kindness, drawn the thirds out of their hands, by promising to make the stipends of the inferior mi-

\* What an astonishing spectacle must this have been to the citizens of Edinburgh, who remembered to have seen this very Grange but a few years before, leading his Queen a captive, and delivering her up to that very Morton, who now, forgetting their former intimacy, was unfeeling enough to put his once bosom-friend on the same footing with the vilest of malefactors?

ministers local, and payable in the parishes where they served, which he made them believe would be the surest way to effectuate quick and ready payment. But when by this deceit he had got possession of the thirds, he ordered two, three or four parishes to be cast together, and served by one minister, who was to preach in them by turns, and placed in every parish a reader to read prayers in the minister's absence, with a salary of twenty or thirty pounds scots. The ministers too found greater difficulty than ever in procuring their payments, and the superintendents were neglected, under pretence that by the institution of Bishops their office was no longer necessary. To remedy these growing evils, the assembly in March 1574 enjoined the Bishops and superintendents not to encroach upon one another's jurisdiction, and decreed that the ministers who were appointed to serve more kirks than one, should take charge of that one only at which they resided, helping the others as they best could.

While Morton and the kirk were thus jarring with one another about his encroachments on the ecclesiastical revenues, a new source of contention was opened, which has not been fully closed in Scotland, even to this day. A Mr. Andrew Melvil had this year returned from Geneva, where he had studied some time under the famous Beza, and acquired a great fondness for the parity-scheme which had taken place there. Being a man of a hot fiery temper, he soon began to shew the warmth of his zeal in favour of the Genevan model, and prevailed on Mr. John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to start the game he wished to pursue, by protesting in the assembly of August 1575, "that the  
" trial

LETTER  
XLI.

LETTER " trial of the Bishops might not prejudice  
 XLI. " opinions and reasons which he and other  
 ~~~~~ " thren had to propose, against the office and n  
 " of a Bishop." This was immediately follo
 by a long harangue from Melvil, on the flou
 ing state of the church in Geneva: In co
 quence of which it was ordered, that the que
 now proposed should be debated and reaso
 upon by three of every side, who came to
 conclusions as were in the main agreeable en
 to the established form. In the next asse
 at Edinburgh, in April 1576, the state of the
 tion was altered, and made to run, " Whe
 " Bishops, as they then were in Scotland,
 " their function warranted by the word
 " God?" But here again the faction was
 appointed. For the assembly, after much rea
 ing and disputation, adhered for the most pa
 the conclusions that had been agreed upon be
 Yet Melvil's party gained two points, which
 Spots. 276. ed them in good stead afterwards. One was a
 " that the Bishops should be obliged to
 " charge of particular congregations:" W
 was no doubt designed to cramp them in the
 exercise of jurisdiction over a whole diocess:
 the other was, an ill-timed message which
 ton sent to the assembly, wishing to know, "
 " ther they would stand to the polity agree
 " at Leith; and if not, desiring them to settle
 " some form of government by which they w
 " abide."

This was giving full scope to Melvil's desi
 and a commission was accordingly granted to
 delegates, of whom he was one, to draw
 Second book of discipline, which was set a
 with vigour, and composed entirely accordi

LETTER
XLI.

the directions which Melvil had got, and was still getting from his tutor Beza. However, two assemblies passed, before this new system of ecclesiastical polity could be completed; and even in a third assembly at Edinburgh, in October 1577, there was not one motion directly or indirectly about the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Bishops. But soon after this, a change happened, which gave them a better opportunity of carrying their design into execution, than they could have expected under Morton's administration; and that was his resignation of the Regency, in one of his sullen humours, and the young King's taking the government into his own hands, tho' then only in the twelfth year of his age. This was a lucky circumstance for the innovators: For now they had got free of a deep and dangerous politician, who could neither be trusted nor outwitted, and had only the name of a King and a divided council to deal with, who could be easily managed, and either wheedled or bullied into any measures. Under this feeble administration therefore they renewed their diligence, and step by step, under various disguises, pursued their grand design, sometimes with connivance, sometimes with a sort of discountenance from the changeable court, till at last they carried their point, and in an assembly at Dundee gave the deadly thrust to episcopacy, by a solemn act bearing, that "For as much as the office of
 " a Bishop, as it is now used within this realm,
 " hath no sure warrant, authority nor good ground
 " out of the word of God, but is brought in
 " by the folly and corruption of men's invention,
 " to the great overthrow of the true kirk of God,
 " therefore the whole assembly in one voice
 Vql. II, D d " findeth

July 22.
1582

LETTER XL.I “ findeth and declareth the same pretended offi-
 “ used and termed as aforesaid, unlawful in
 “ self, and ordaineth that all persons who bro-
 “ or hereafter shall brook the said office,
 “ charged forthwith to demitt, quit and leave
 “ the same, and sicklike to desist and cease fr-
 “ preaching, ministring the sacraments, or --
 “ way using the office of pastors, till they rec-
 “ admission anew from the general assembly,
 “ der pain of excommunication, &c.”

Were we to consider this solemn act in the
 teral sense of the words, and detached from
 design and principles of the enactors, somethi
 might be said in its vindication. It goes up
 the assumption that the office of a Bishop, “
 “ then used within Scotland,” had no warrant
 in the word of God. And this restriction,
 having a certain speciality in it, is again repe
 ed in the next assembly, held at Glasgow in Ap
 following, where, when some of the brethren e
 pressed their scruples at that part of this a
 finding that the “ office of a Bishop hath no wa
 “ rant in the word of God,” the assembly d
 clare, “ that their meaning was to conden
 “ the estate of Bishops as they were *then* in Sco
 “ land.” It was not therefore Episcopacy
 general, as such, but that particular form a
 fashion of it, now for political ends erected
 Scotland, which even this seemingly Presbyteri
 assembly of Dundee condemn, as flowing fro
 the folly and corruption of man’s invention, a
 having no warrant in the word of God. An
 indeed it will not be easy to prove from scriptur
 that the office of a Bishop, as there describe
 could properly and warrantably be exercised
 any one at his own hand, without such previo

d preparatory solemnity as the Canons of scrip- LETTER
XLI.
e had appointed, and the first ages in confor-
y to, and interpretation of these canons, had
versally and constantly practised. And could


Episcopacy which was at that time used in
land, either in the entrance to, or exercise
he office, claim the apostolic character or
nd to any scripture-warrant?

ut then on the other hand, what was that af-
ly which so peremptorily and magisterially
decorated and condemned this pretended epis-
cy? Some assemblies might have done so,
a good grounds, and by sufficient authority.

what gave this convention that authority, or
: warrant from the word of God could they
uce for their own office and titles, any more
the pretended titular Bishops could produce
theirs? Or did they think it more unlawful
without warrant, to assume the name and office
Bishops, than of Presbyters or ministers?
rever with or without authority, the act pas-
and that building which our reformers had
much labour been rearing for twenty years,
now thrown down by one bold stroke, and
ts place was set up the equally unwarrantable
of Genevan parity, which under the name
e Presbyterian kirk has made a figure among
ver since.

et all this time we have heard little or no-
g of that essential branch of this constitution,
meeting called *the Presbytery*, from which the
le fabric seems to have taken its distinguish-
denomination. Indeed the first book of dis-
ine had undesignedly paved the way to such
rection, by appointing "that the country mi-
nisters and readers should meet upon a cer-
tain day of the week, in such towns within fix

LETTER “ miles distance as had schools, and to whi
 XLI. “ there was repair of learned men, to exerc
 “ themselves in the interpretation of scripture
 Which was no doubt intended, and perhaps wi
 ly enough, in that early scarcity of gifted m
 as the phrase was, to train up and qualify
 less perfect by the conversation and instructi
 of the more learned, but without investing th
 meetings with any degree of power, or author
 ing the least instance of judicature of any ki
 in them. Of this temporary appointment M
 vil’s faction took hold in the assembly of Oc
 ber 1576, and got it enacted “ that all mi
 “ ters within eight miles should resort to the pl
 “ of exercise, each day of exercise.” They p
 ceeded a step farther in the assembly of July 15
 where they got it proposed “ that a general
 “ der might be taken for erecting Presbyterie
 “ in places where public exercise was used,
 “ the policy of the church might be establ
 “ ed by law,” to which the assembly answer
 “ that the exercise was a presbytery.” Notw
 standing this evasive and ambiguous declarati
 there were no Presbyteries, in the modern ex
 of the word, within the kingdom, till the 3
 of May 1581, that the Presbytery of Edinbu
 was erected. Others rose up by degrees h
 and there afterwards, but they were not agr
 to by the King till the year 1586, nor ratified
 the Parliament till 1592. So long was that c
 stitution, now flourishing under the title of *P
 bytery*, in forming : Never dreamed of for
 first fourteen years of the reformation, which
 first began with a superintendency, and th
 adopted an Episcopacy : Even when brought up
 the stage by its Scotch parent Andrew Mel
 obliged to work its way for five years, and th

ten assemblies towards a first approbation: And **LETTER**
 after this, moulding itself into form for twelve **XLI.**
 years more, before it was perfectly completed by, 
 what it now boasts of, a legal establishment.

It may be wondered indeed how these innovations were allowed to pass so quietly, and as the famous act bears, with one voice. But the reason was: The three surviving superintendents were old men, and wished to give up their charge, and the new Bishops, who, whatever other defects they laboured under, were not wanting in parts or capacity, were so harassed with personal incivilities, and the rude behaviour of Melvil and his party, that they gave up attending the meetings, where they were so disrespectfully used, and left them to their own freedom. To such lengths did Melvil carry his rough and impetuous zeal, that he proposed to the Magistrates of Glasgow, where he had got himself made Principal of the College, to demolish their fine cathedral, which the madness of the first tumults had spared, and would have effected his purpose, if the tradesmen of the city had not risen in a body, and threatened with an oath, that the man who should cast down the first stone of it should be buried under it. This coming to the young King's ears, **Spotf. 3c4**
 he countenanced the opposition, and inhibited the ministers who were for the demolition, from meddling any more with it, saying "that too many churches had been destroyed already, but he would allow no more abuses of that kind."

What contributed very much to the encouragement of these turbulent humours in the kirk, was the continual distractions in the privy-council, occasioned by Morton's repenting of his hasty resignation, and perpetually plotting to thrust himself

LETTER self again into power. But in this he was n
 XLI. serably disappointed, and now felt a woeful b
 just reverse of fortune. He who had been so lo
 and so violently active against the Queen, w
 had given his oath and honour that she w
 guilty of murdering her husband, and who h
 more than once sat as judge, and a severe o
 too, upon pannels for that crime, was, upon
 accusation given in against him to the King a
 council, himself brought to his trial before l
 Peers for that very murder, on the first of Ju
 1581, and being found guilty by the jury, w
 next day beheaded on the public street of Edi
 burgh. And so much had all his former go
 luck forsaken him, that his corpse lay on t
 scaffold covered only with a beggarly cloak, a
 no one expressing the least pity or sorrow f
 his fate, till towards sunset, when it was carri
 by some obscure fellows to the common place
 burial, and his head fixed on the public ja
 The Queen of England solicited strongly in t
 half of a man who had been useful to her
 many occasions; and her officious interpositio
 conducted by an intriguing ambassador, gave
 little uneasiness to James and his counsellors

Spotf. 314.

In the midst of these confusions, the new
 dicature of the kirk got up its head, and s
 began to shew itself in its proper colours. P
 preachers on that side, being most of them yo
 men, and having now no superior to direc
 restrain them, made it their daily theme in t
 pulpit-harangues, to inveigh against the civil ad
 ministration; and when they were called in quest
 for it by the council, they pled the old Po
 exemption of being accountable to no secular
 bunal. The titular Bishops, tho' now thrust
 fr

from the assemblies of the kirk, still kept possession of the temporalities annexed to the name, and continued to exercise such acts of the Episcopal office as were of a temporal nature, in disposing and conveying the few lands that were left them: Between these two contending parties, the young King was sadly tossed and perplexed, and often at a loss how to act, so as to keep it with both sides, and secure the peace of the kingdom.

He found it a difficult matter, even to provide for the safety of his own person. For on the twenty third of August 1582, a party of the nobles, who had taken offence at some of his favourites, particularly at his cousin the Duke of Lenox, suddenly placed themselves about him: the Earl of Gowrie's house of Ruthven, and detained him there a prisoner some days. From thence they carried him to Perth, where they obliged him to publish a proclamation, declaring himself satisfied with his present condition, and ordering Lenox to leave the kingdom in three weeks. From Perth they removed him to Horroodhouse, while the General Assembly was sitting at Edinburgh, and having represented their procedure and the reasons of it to the Assembly, they obtained from them a formal act, approving it as good service, and "requiring every one who regarded the glory of God, to concur with and assist these noblemen in maintaining the good cause which they had taken in hand:" And not content with this approbation of the kirk, these Lords got a convention of the estates assembled, to justify their enterprise, and grant a full indemnity to all concerned in it. Mean time, ambassadors came from

France,

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XII.
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Spotf. 322.

LETTER France, and an envoy from England to enquire  
 XLI. into the King's situation, and offer him assistance if needful. This offer was no doubt very acceptable; and to testify his sense of it, he desired the Magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the ambassadors before they departed. But the preachers appointed a fast on the day fixed for the feast, and from the pulpits thundered out their curses against the Magistrates and all that obeyed the King's directions, threatening even to excommunicate the Magistrates for not observing the fast which they had enjoined. All these and many more such insults the King seemed to take no notice of, having still an eye to his liberty which at last, after near a year's confinement, by his own contrivance, and the assistance of a Colonel Stuart, he happily effected.

Things now began to put on a very different aspect. The ministers of Edinburgh, continuing to vindicate the *Raid of Ruthven*, as it was called, were summoned before the council and ordered to submit to the King's pleasure: The discontented Lords were committed to several prisons: As Mr. Andrew Melvil, for a seditious sermon at St Andrews, was cited before the King, when breaking out into irreverent language, and accusing the King of having perverted the laws both of God and man, he was charged to enter himself in Blackness within ten hours; but he went out in the night, and fled to Berwick. The Earl of Gowrie, one of the principal conspirators, was apprehended in Dundee, when, in terms of the King's pardon, he ought to have been out of the country, and being brought prisoner to Stirling

he was condemned and beheaded about the beginning of May 1584.\* LETTER  
XLI.

This commotion being thus settled, the King returned to Edinburgh, and published a proclamation, prohibiting all false, virulent, and slanderous speeches against himself, his council, and administration, under the pains expressed by law. Upon this the ministers of Edinburgh fled to England, and wrote back a letter to the town-council and kirk-session, complaining in bitter terms of the enormities of the times, and reproaching the King and his counsellors in a mixed style of railing and godliness. To this letter, the town, at the King's desire, returned a suitable answer, upbraiding them with their seditious behaviour, and cowardly desertion of their flock: Which return, when Mr. Lawson, who had been called from Aberdeen to succeed John Knox, received, he took it so to heart, that he sickened, and died at London soon after. Next year, however, the banished Lords were reconciled to the King, and all things tended once more to peace and quietness. But the ministers took offence at this reconciliation, as being in their conceits prejudicial to what they called the interests of religion, and raised fresh disturbances about Edinburgh, and in various parts of the kingdom. Such were the early effects of that turbulent spirit which had been lately imported into the nation, and which, disdaining all kind

\* Before his trial he wrote a supplicatory letter to the King, begging to be admitted to his presence, "as he had a matter of great importance to reveal," but the petition was rejected, and the petitioner met with the just reward of what his judges now interpreted to be treason, tho' the time was when it was maintained to be "good service."

LETTER of regularity and submission, could not be at re  
 XLI. under any government. Yet the King went  
 ~~~~~ with his endeavours to establish peace and order  
 as conducive to the real interests of truth
 And when his secretary advised him to leave the
 ministers to their own refractory courses, which
 would soon make them intolerable to the people
 Spotf. 347. his answer was, " True, if I were purposed to
 " do the church and religion, I should think y^e
 " counsel not ill, but as my mind is to ma
 " tain both, I cannot suffer them to run i
 " these disorders, which would make religio
 " be despised." Notwithstanding of this pru
 and pious conduct, which, in a Prince, at
 time of life, was rarely to be met with,
 clamour was still kept up, that he was inclin
 ing to Popery. But so far was he from de
 veloping the least tendency that way, that in
 month of June 1586, he concluded a league
 offensive and defensive with Queen Elizabeth, s
 rating that, " seeing that divers Princes, term
 " themselves Catholics, and owning the Po
 " authority, have joined in confederacy to
 " stir up true religion, not only in their own
 " minions, but also in other kingdoms, th
 " fore they have thought it necessary, as v
 " for the preservation of their own persons,
 " which the weal of their subjects depends,
 " for the better maintenance of the true ancie
 " christian religion which they now profess,
 " join and unite themselves in a more str
 " league than hath been between any of
 " Princes their progenitors.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R X L I I .

Tragical End of Q. Mary—Effect of it on her Son James VI.—He calls a Parliament, in which the Church Lands are annexed to the Crown—Opposition of the Assembly to his Measures—Parliamentary Ratification of their Discipline—Their Persecution of the Popish Lords—The Kirk represented in Parliament, and a Shadow of Episcopacy restored—Gowry's Conspiracy—Seditious Behaviour of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

WHILE James was employed, as I have already mentioned, in taking proper measures for the security of the Protestant cause, both at home and abroad, his attention was suddenly called to a scene, the most trying and tragical of any he had yet met with, and which required all the fortitude and prudence he was master of, to enable him to act his part in a becoming manner. His mother, Queen Mary, after languishing upwards of eighteen years, under re-

LETTER XLII. peated disappointments, in an unexpected unchristian captivity, was now exposed upon public stage, in a view indeed, which added lustre to her own character, but will reflect eternal disgrace on the unnatural hand that brought her to it. This unfortunate Princess had for many years past given over all struggling for honour or dignity. She had seen her adherents quelled in Scotland, and driven into a forced obedience by successful violence. She had seen her worthy friend the Duke of Norfolk treacherously brought to the scaffold upon her account, her faithful ambassador and counsellor the Bishop of Ross, contrary to the law of nations, imprisoned, and then banished for her cause. And now, after such a grievous run of vexation when she saw her son, who, tho' set up against her, was innocent of her misfortunes, wear that crown, which from and after her was unquestionable property, and the succession of ancient monarchy going on in the right line, she began to sit down quietly under her melancholy situation, and to retire from a world where she had experienced so little satisfaction. Yet the resentment of her irreconcilable enmity in Elizabeth would not allow her to rest, even in this humiliating retirement. The old friends of Murray and Morton, with their false oaths and forged letters, had been long since given up as absurd and incredible. Associations therefore were formed, and sham conspiracies pretended, to destroy a miserable woman, who had neither power to hurt an enemy, nor protect herself. Hints of private assassination were given to her keepers, who, tho' not of the most humane and polite cast, rejected the proposal.

the abhorrence it deserved. At last a plot was fixed upon one Babington, and the poor captive Queen, by the common trick of forged letters, was brought in as a partner. Upon which, a commission was granted to a select number of English Peers and judges, the most of them her declared enemies, and contrivers of all the mischief against her, before whom she was, in October this year, formally arraigned and tried at Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, the place of her confinement. And notwithstanding her plea of being an independent Sovereign, and the noble defence she made with all becoming majesty and strength of reasoning, when she was most illegally denied the benefit of counsel, these commissioners, in obedience to the orders of their imperious mistresses, were pleased to find her guilty, and pronounced sentence of death upon her accordingly.

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A.D. 1586.

When intelligence of this procedure was brought to her son, he dispatched courier after courier to remonstrate with his ally Elizabeth, against the indignity and horrid iniquity of it. The foreign ambassadors too interposed: But all to no purpose: The prey which Elizabeth had so long held fast, with a pleasure peculiar to her brutal spirit, was not to be let go for a few big words. When James found his mother's death determined upon, he thought he could not do less than desire the ministers to remember her condition in their public prayers, "that God would be pleased to illuminate her with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast." This common office of humanity, which, in the manner proposed, no christian could well deny

Spotf. 354.

to

LETTER to a heathen in like circumstances, they al
 XLII. lutely refused to the mother of their Prin
 and one of them, Coupar, a young fellow,
 even in such orders as they had among th
 whom the ministers had put into the pulpit
 the principal kirk for that day, had the blasf
 mous impudence to tell the King to his fa
 "that he would pray as the Spirit of C
 "should direct him."

At last, to the full accomplishment of El
 beth's implacable jealousy and revenge, M
 Queen of Scots, was upon the eighth day of
 bruary 1587, brought forth from her closet
 the scaffold, and laying down her head upon
 block, without the least sign of fear or trep
 tion, had it severed from her body by two stro
 of the executioner, in the forty fifth year of
 age. Her very enemies, among the histor
 bear ample testimony to her magnanimous
 christian behaviour both at her trial and ex
 tion: And when we look back to the ami
 figure which she makes on that solemn and
 ful occasion, mounting the scaffold with that
 renity and composure which innocence al
 could inspire, and facing the instruments of de
 and the more terrible visages of her guards, v
 such an heroic dignity as became injured
 jesty to express, we cannot but perceive
 striking contrast exhibited by the poor, pit
 exit of her rival Elizabeth, tumbling her
 when death was approaching, from her chair
 state to her chamber floor, and there for
 days and nights moping out her last miser
 moments in alternate fits of sullen desponde
 or peevish discontent.

I shall only take notice of one other circ
 sta

stance relative to this royal sufferer; that, under all the hardships and perils which for near twenty years she was daily and hourly exposed to, she survived all her original persecutors, and might have enjoyed a certain kind of pleasure; if her forgiving spirit had been capable of such unchristian meanness, in hearing that most of them came to sudden or violent ends. Her brother Murray was designedly shot: So was her father-in-law, Lenox. Kirkaldy of Grange, who wheedled her from her army at Carberry with feigned professions of loyalty, perished on a gallows. Her secretary, Lethington, the betrayer of her confidence, and plotter of all her ruin, was his own executioner. Morton was condemned to the block. The young Ruthven, who shut her up in Lochleven, met with the same fate. And yet, after such flagrant discoveries as were made in her own time, of the treachery and wickedness of some of that party, and the manifest proofs of Morton and Lethington being accomplices in the murder which they had the baseness to charge her with, what a scandalous injustice is it to her memory, and what a lamentable instance of the force of inveterate prejudice, to be still loading her with the guilt of that murder, upon the bare presumption of her marrying the Earl of Bothwell, who, after all that has appeared against him, seems to have been but a tool to the rest for bringing their long concerted plots to perfection?

Let us next see how her son, now by right what he had hitherto been by name, King of Scotland, received the sorrowful and provoking news, which his dissembling friend Elizabeth, by an express messenger, sent him, in a style of the most

LETTER XLII. most consummate hypocrisy, and with an air affected regret. And here, he cannot but appear to every person of natural feelings, in truly pitiable situation: Distressed as a son, with the cruelties and barbarities exercised on a mother, whom, from her general character, misrepresents as it had been to him, he could not but admire and love: Enraged as a King, the affront put upon majesty in general, and upon himself in particular by a pretended ally in behaving so unhandsomely against all public equity and private intreaty, to so near and so honourable a relation; and yet, tho' a King, uncertain from the experience he had of the dispositions of his own subjects, whether he should be able to avenge an injury which it had not been in his power to prevent: At the same time, as the apparent heir to the crown of the ally, and of a kingdom larger and more powerful than his own, diffculted how to act so as neither on the one hand, by a silent indifference, to neglect personal honour or filial duty, nor on the other hand to endanger his future and not far distant prospects, by an untimely and perhaps unsuccessful desire of vengeance. Under such circumstances, what could he do, what could any man have done, to an effectual purpose, and with an equal eye of regard to these important and perplexing considerations? Yet, incensed and perplexed as he was after some natural and sincere expressions of anger and vexation, prudential motives got the better of just resentment, and he was persuaded to appear satisfied with the measures which Elizabeth artfully took for her own vindication. Indeed, if he had been otherwise disposed, a

had thought it adviseable to keep up the quarrel, he had very soon a fair opportunity offered him of distressing the Queen of England, when the Spanish Armada, the most terrible armament that ever burdened the ocean before or since, made its threatening appearance upon her coasts. But he could not think of taking hold of this opportunity, in favour of a nation whose religion he conscientiously abhorred, and whose ambition he wisely dreaded. Instead of forming any alliance with the Spaniard, tho' much solicited to it, or even observing a quiet neutrality, which the remembrance of former transactions might have excused, he generously offered Elizabeth all the assistance he could give at such a dangerous juncture. And the event justified his conduct.—The elements fought against the invaders, and contributed more to the safety of England than all the prowess of Elizabeth, or vigilance of James could have done. However, tho' from this time he still kept in good terms with her, on account of his prospect of succeeding her, yet he never trusted her so much, nor was so cordial with her as he had been before; and she, for her part, was more tender and cautious in meddling with his matters than she had formerly shewn herself.

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Soon after his mother's death, James had completed his twenty first year, and to solemnize his majority he called both a parliament and an assembly. In the parliament an act was passed, annexing the temporalities of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, under pretence of increasing its patrimony, and to ease the lieges from further taxations. At the same time it was given out, that the reserving the Prelates houses and precincts, with the tithes of the

Spott. 365.

LETTER churches annexed to their benefices, would suffice to maintain their dignity and estate. This XLII. act of annexation was thought a great matter at the time, and the King was made to believe that he had been most nobly and liberally dealt with. But so dubious are the issues of all human consultations, that, favourable as it looked at first, it turned out quite differently from what the King expected, tho' not from what the original framers had intended by it. For the King himself had little benefit of it, the many lands which had been seized or given away from the church in his minority, being in this very parliament confirmed to the possessors, and temporal lordships afterwards erected upon them: And in the next reign these very acts became a handle for beginning all the troubles and disturbances which then ensued.

In the assembly of the kirk, the King did not meet with so much complaisance, nor could all his remonstrances procure him any satisfaction against two of the ministers, Gibson and Coupar, who, by their seditious and insolent behaviour, had highly offended him. They had now got hold of the popular clamour, which had so long served them in good stead, that Papists were encouraged, and Popery increasing in the kingdom. Yet we do not find that the old Bishops were much blamed for occasioning this complaint.—The Primate of St. Andrews, we see, had been long since put out of the way: All the rest, it would seem, were dead, except Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, and Bishop Leslie of Ross, and they both were out of the country. It is indeed a little surprizing that, in all this time, when they saw how things were going on, they took no care to keep up the Episcopal order, and preserve the face

face of a church, which by their principles could not subsist without Bishops. But, as I have often observed, they were so taken up with the secular honours and privileges in being one of the three estates of Parliament, that they forgot their spiritual character, and left the church, as such, to shift for herself. They had likewise for a course of years been miserably restrained in the exercise of their inherent powers, by the dominion which the Popes had from time to time been usurping over them, and had been thereby overawed into a conceit that without their permissive Bulls they could not continue the succession, nor transmit to others the character which themselves had received. Yet during the primitive ages, whether of persecution or peace, it is certain that the many national churches, under their several diocessans, did keep up the episcopal succession, without waiting for previous authority from Rome, and only thought proper to notify the consecrations of their chief Bishops to their brother at Rome, as he did to them in the like case, for preserving mutual communion and catholic unity. But now the Bishops of this national church, when what they called heresy and schism began to predominate, and their worldly dignities and riches to be turned into another channel, either durst not for fear of the laws, or could not for want of the Pope's authority, exercise this essential part of their sacred office which, we are sure, no earthly terror nor extrinsic motive would have prevented the primitive Bishops from exercising, and without which the christian church must have perished in its infancy. Yea, so much did this strange and unprecedented notion prevail, that for more than a hundred years after the reformation, the Papists in Scotland had not a Bishop

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LETTER among them nor over them, till the Popes grow
 XLII. ing wiser, it seems, in this point, as they ha
 done in many others, from that rupture, we
 pleased to favour their adherents once more wit
 residing Bishops, at a time when there was n
 need of them, and when there were Bishops in
 lawful succession, capable to continue the christi
 church, tho' not the Popish cause, in Britain.

It was not therefore to the Popish Bishops form
 ing or retaining the face of a church, that th
 clamour I spoke of was owing. It proceed
 entirely from the new tribe of Jesuits taking a
 vantage of the confusions and disorderly state
 our religious police, and flocking over in gre
 shoals from their foreign seminaries, to the
 friends and relations among the nobility an
 gentry. Many of these still adhered to the ol
 forms, and others who once wished well to a refor
 mation, and would have concurred in any peace
 able, regular way of redressing abuses, were so dis
 gusted at the rude and turbulent behaviour of
 the new preachers, that they began to fall off ei
 ther to the Popish persuasion, or to a careless in
 difference about a church of any denomination.
 This gave the King great uneasiness. For as on
 the one hand he was entirely satisfied with the
 doctrines taught in the reformed kirk, whatever
 he thought of the present polity and rites of it,
 which he was always striving to regulate; so upon
 the other hand, to shun the rock on which he
 had been told, his grandfather James V. had split,
 he was extremely attentive to his nobility, and
 took great pains to create unity and concord
 among them, both in religious and political sen
 timents. Of two of them he was particularly
 fond; of George Earl of Huntly, because of his
 family's sufferings in the late commotions, and
 of

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of Francis Earl of Errol, for the great character that nobleman bore of integrity and valour. It is true, both these two, and the Earl of Angus, another nobleman of good reputation, had been corresponding too freely with some of the Popish powers abroad, for assistance to restore the old rites, and to protect the Catholics, as they called themselves, from the rigours of the reformers: Which, however illegal and impolitic now, was only copying after the example set them from the other side not thirty years before, when it was as illegal to apply to the Queen of England for support of the Protestant cause, as it could be now to solicit the King of Spain in behalf of the Popish. So little ground had either party to upbraid the other for using sinistrous methods to defend their religion. It was for carrying on this illicit and dangerous commerce, that these Jesuits were employed by their superiors abroad, in what has since been called *the mission*, and being related to these noble families, it was no wonder that they were well entertained, and even gladly listened to, when they made proposals for relief from the severe pressures, which their cause then lay under.

In the management of matters between these contending parties, the King was obliged to temporize a little, for the better execution of a business which he had now in hand. He had lately sent the Earl Marischal ambassador to Denmark for obtaining the Princess Ann in marriage, and being impatient of delay, he followed in person soon after, and having solemnized the marriage, was detained in that country all winter. On the 20th of May 1590, he arrived safe with his Queen and retinue at Leith, and had the satisfaction to find

Spotf. 380.

LETTER XLII. find that the directions he had left at his going away had been carefully attended to, and that had been quiet, and orderly, during his absence. But it was not long before this tranquillity was interrupted by fresh provocations from the kirk. Melvil was continually raising disturbances upon some pretence or other, not only in the assembly where he withstood the King's prerogative, but even against such of his own brethren as were more moderately inclined, had the resolution to oppose any of his turbulent measures. The King was likewise much harassed by the rebellious and restless humour of Francis Stuart, his bastard cousin, whom he had created Earl of Bothwell, a who on many occasions was either openly supported or secretly abetted by the kirk.

In June 1592, the assembly petitioned the parliament for a legal ratification of their ecclesiastical discipline, for a repeal of the act of annexation, for discharging Prelates from having a voice in parliament without commission from the assembly, and for purging the realm of Idolatry and Popery. The three last of these articles proposed were rejected: But to the first the King was obliged, from the situation of his affairs, to give way, and to yield the ratification they demanded, however much it encroached upon his prerogative, and thwarted his other views. This is the first parliamentary sanction, at the distance of upwards of thirty years from the date of reformation, that the Presbyterian kirk was avowed with. By this concession the King, without doubt, thought to detach them from the faction of Bothwell, whom they still continued to patronise till after repeated insurrections, the unhappy king was at last driven out of the kingdom, to which he never returned. Howe

However, the difficulty with the Popish Lords LETTER
 still continued. The King's great aim was to XLII.
 have them reclaimed from their foreign attach-
 ments, and brought over, by mildness and per-
 suasion, to the profession of what he himself be-
 lieved to be the true religion. He was sensible
 of their loyalty and affection to his person and
 government, while he regretted their principles,
 and therefore wished to have them dealt with in
 the way of conference and instruction, not by
 compulsion and legal force. But the preachers
 were not the men for such gentle and lenient
 measures. The synod of Fife summarily excom- A.D. 1593.
 municated the three Earls, and sent orders to
 the presbyteries to publish the sentence in all the
 kirk. Nor could the King with all his influ-
 ence prevent the publication, tho' in arguing
 with them he produced two flagrant grounds of
 informality; that the persons were not subject to
 that synod, and that they had not been for-
 mally cited to answer. But this was not all.
 In a parliament held next year these Earls were
 forfeited, and commission granted to Argyle to
 prosecute them with fire and sword, which either
 from fear or sympathy he at first declined, but
 at last, by the pressing solicitations of one of the
 first rate preachers, Mr. Robert Bruce, was pre-
 vailed upon to undertake. This drove Huntly
 and Errol to the necessity of arming for their
 own defence: Which they did with all expedi-
 tion, and having collected a choice body of their
 friends and vassals, came up with Argyle on the
 third of October at Glenlivet, and gave him a A.D. 1594.
 total overthrow, tho' he had an army of more
 than four times their number. This victory,
 however signal in itself, was of little service to
 the

LETTER the victors : For rather than incur the King
 XLII. farther displeasure, they asked and obtained
 permission to go beyond seas, and gave security
 that they should not return without his license.

About a year after, the King being extremely
 anxious to have peace and quietness at home
 when his succession to the English crown should
 open, he consulted Mr. Robert Bruce, who had
 a great sway in the kirk, about bringing home
 the exiled Lords, on condition of their conforming
 to the established religion. To this proposal Mr.
 Bruce in a manner agreed as to Earl and Angus,
 but would not hear of favouring Huntly upon any
 terms. And when the King insisted on treating
 them all alike, the man gave him this saucy answer,
 “ I see, sir, your resolution is to take Huntly
 into favour, whether you shall lose Huntly or me,
 for both you cannot keep.” However, the Lords
 wearying of their situation abroad, ventured to
 return secretly to their own country : When the
 kirk got account of, the presbyters fell to work
 with them, and ordered the ministers to warn
 their flocks not to harbour them, or give them
 any assistance. The King, still solicitous for
 peace, sent the officers of state to confer with
 some of the more moderate of the ministers
 on this perplexing business, who notwithstanding
 the opinion the King had of their moderation,
 told his commissioners very plainly that these
 Lords having by God’s law deserved death,
 and being by the most sovereign court of the
 kingdom sentenced to lose their estates, they
 could not be lawfully pardoned nor restored :
 And if the King and his court
 would

“would take upon them to do it, they had
 “God and the country to answer to; for their
 “part they would give no assent, but protest to
 “the contrary, that they were free thereof both
 “before God and man.” When the commis-
 sioners put them in mind, that, as the bosom
 of the church should ever be patent to repent-
 ing sinners, they could not well refuse what was
 now proposed to them, their answer was, “that
 “the church indeed could not refuse the sa-
 tisfaction of these Lords, if it were truly of-
 fered, nevertheless the King stood obliged to
 “do justice.” This plainly shews, that if James
 had been as much inclined to the severity of jus-
 tice as some of his royal predecessors, the bloody
 days of papal persecution would have once more
 been renewed by these ministers of the pure re-
 formed kirk.

Soon after this instance of their boldness, the
 King met with another insult from them, in their
 avowed protection of one of their fire-brands,
 Mr. David Blake at St. Andrews, who had in the
 pulpit abused the King, the Queen, the Council
 and Lords of Session, and all the court, in most
 spiteful and unsufferable language. The King
 complained of this to the Assembly, but got
 no redress. The ministers, instead of giving up
 the criminal to be punished as he deserved, e-
 spoused his cause as the common one of the
 whole order. Yea, to such a height was the
 uproar on Blake’s account carried, that the town
 of Edinburgh took a part in it, and patronized
 the ministers against the King. But the King
 removing his family and the courts of judica-
 ture to Linlithgow, brought the citizens to a
 sense of their duty, and gave a severe check to

AFTER the tumultuous spirit that was then prevalent
 XLII. This perpetual clashing of the two jurisdictions the civil and the ecclesiastical, was the source of all these disorders: And therefore, to provide a proper remedy, and determine the bounds of the exercise of the spiritual authority, the king thought proper to call an assembly at Perth
 Spotf. 434. February 1597, and sent fifty five articles in the form of questions, concerning church-discipline to be deliberated upon. Some of these the assembly agreed to, but the most of them they desired time to consult about. They indeed how directly they pointed against the confused model of Melvil's devising, which many of themselves were beginning to be weary of, and yet were loth to have even that tedious freedom too much controuled by restrictions which these articles in general designed to put upon it. The result however was, that commissioners were appointed to a visitation at St. Andrews, which they went in July, and removed Blake from being rector of the town, and Melvil from being Rector of the university. In December following, they gained another point, which he had much at heart, by the parliament's passing an act that the commissioners of the kirk agreeing "that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should provide to the place, dignity, or office of a Bishop, or other Prelate at any time should have voice in parliament as far as any ecclesiastical Prelate, had in times past."
 At the same time a change was made in the ministry at Edinburgh, which before had been common or collegiate charge, but was now divided into parishes, and a particular minister

pointed to every parish. In the settling of this LETTER XLII.
 business some opposition arose from Mr. Robert Bruce, who had preached ten years without ordination of any kind, and now pretended that the approbation of the General Assembly was ordination sufficient. The first book of discipline had indeed dispensed with the laying on of hands, but the second book, which was the constitution under which Bruce acted, had required it; so that his scruples about it could have no foundation, but that peculiar obstinacy and singularity which the man affected in these matters. However, being threatened with deprivation, he at last got over his scruples, and yielded to have his ministerial character perfected in the common way, by laying on of hands. This year the King published his *Basilicon Doron*, which he had in his leisure hours drawn up for the instruction of his eldest son Prince Henry. For Melvil having accidentally got a sight of it in manuscript, and finding in it many severe reflections on the disorderly discipline of their kirk, took copies of it, and spread them among the brethren. Upon which, one Dikes, minister at Anstruther, threw in before the synod of Fife a most seditious and ill-mannered libel against it, for which he was declared rebel and outlawed. The King finding it maliciously rumoured that he had given directions to his son which were prejudicial to the true religion, thought fit to submit the book to public inspection, as the best vindication both of the author and of the work. And the event answered his expectation: For the book being carried into England, raised such an universal esteem of his piety and wisdom, that it contributed

A.D. 1599.

LETTER more to his peaceable succession to that crown
 XLII. a few years after, than all the many treaties
 that came abroad on that subject.

The next year died Mr. John Dury, the principal instrument employed by Melvil to bring his idol of parity upon the public stage: And mention this man's death, not upon his own count, but for his death-bed opinion of the present state of affairs. For when some brethren came to visit him, he requested them to tell the ensuing assembly as from him, "that there was a necessity of restoring the ancient government of the church, because of the unruliness of the young ministers, who would not be governed by the elder sort, nor kept in order. And since both the state of the church require it, and the King did labour for it, he wished them to make no trouble therefore, but only to insist with the King, that the best ministers and of greatest experience might be preferred to places." Such were the sentiments which the experience of twenty years had taught this zealous patron of presbytery to form concerning it. Many more of its former friends began to be of the same opinion, and in the assembly of March this year, the church's vote in parliament was ratified under certain restrictions and cautions, which indeed favoured good deal of the former leaven, but which the King and wiser part yielded to, with a view to get all rectified at a more convenient season.— So there remained nothing now but to nominate persons to the bishopricks that were void. Aberdeen and Argyle had their own incumbents, Mr. David Cunningham and Mr. Neil Campbell, both actual preachers. St. Andrews was in the hands

Spots. 457.

A.D. 1600.

of the Duke of Lenox. The temporalities of Glasgow had been restored by the King of old Archbishop Beton, who was still alive. Dunkeld, Brechin and Dunblain had, Mr. Peter Rollock, who was a Lord of, Mr. Alexander Campbell, and Mr. Andrew Graham, who only preached sometimes.— was possessed by the Lord Spynie, and by the Earl of Orkney. Galloway and were so dilapidated, that they were scarcely remembered to have been. In Ross and there was some provision left: To the of these, now vacant by the death of Bishop Leslie, Mr. David Lindsay, minister at Leith, named, and to the other, Mr. George Gladstoun at St. Andrews, who both, notwithstanding this nomination, continued to reside on their former cures. Thus a shadow of Episcopacy was once more restored in Scotland, and the King appeared to be satisfied for the present, he could get the substance properly and readily recovered, which he seems all-along to have had in his eye.

While he was thus labouring for order in the kirk, and quiet in the state, he fell into a snare and unexpected snare, which had it been for a visible hand of an interposing providence, would have been fatal to him. The Duke of Gowrie, son to him who had been executed for treason in 1581, had invited the King, at Falkland, to do him the honour to dine with him at his house in Perth, on the fifth of August 1600, under pretext of having a particular secret to communicate to him. This invited the King, suspecting nothing from a man whom he had so indulgently restored to his father's

LETTER XLII.

LETTER ther's forfeited estate and honours, readily
 XLII. cepted, and came with a small retinue at
 ~~~~~ time appointed. After dinner, the King was  
 fully decoyed into a private chamber at a considerable distance from the public hall, and the Alexander Ruthven, the Earl's brother, laid hands on him, and upbraiding him with the execution of his father, bade him prepare for instant death. Immediately another person appeared, who was to have been the assassin, but tho' clad in armour for the purpose, stood amazed and motionless. Mean time the King, recovering a little from the surprize of the first shock, had the presence of mind and strength of body too, while struggling with Ruthven, who bit him by the throat, to drag him to a window and getting it opened, called out to the street for help. On this, some of his retinue, who were below, forced their way thro' private door and back stairs, (for the main passages of the house were guarded by the Earl's servants,) into the room whence the cry came, and in rescuing the King, it happened that both the brothers after a dangerous scuffle were killed on the spot. The rumour of what was doing, being at this time spread thro' the town, of which the Earl was Provost, the townsmen took arms and surrounded the house, crying "to give them their Provost, otherwise they would blow them all up with powder." But some of the Baillies and principal citizens getting entrance to the King, and finding out the truth, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horse, and posted back with his company to Falkland, where he was welcomed with great acclamations of joy. On the morrow an advertisement was sent to the council at Edinburgh.

of them, but to signify how the thing was  
a great danger, and to stir up the  
to thankfulness, they peremptorily refused  
this strange pretence, "that nothing Spotf. 47.  
it to be delivered in the pulpit, but that  
proof the truth was known, and that all  
which is uttered in that place should be spoken  
with." For this obstinacy they were com-  
manded to leave the town in forty eight hours,  
prohibited to preach within his Majesty's do-  
mains under pain of death. But in a few  
days they all acknowledged their offence, and  
certain conditions were pardoned, except  
Robert Bruce, who, with the old spirit of  
senescence and pride, said, "he would reve-  
nge his Majesty's report of that accident,  
could not say he was persuaded of the  
truth of it," and was therefore banished the  
dominion, and went to France. Yet even of the  
there were none but one who performed  
conditions enjoined them: For which refrac-  
tory behaviour, the next assembly, in May, trans-  
ferred them from the ministry in Edinburgh to  
country charges as were thought meet

**LETTER** find that the assemblies were now beginning  
**XLII.** be a little more temperate in their proceedings  
 ~~~~~ and to shew some regard to the overtures he  
 always laying before them, for regulating the
 discipline, and removing the cause of that per-
 petual jarring between the civil and ecclesiastical
 state, which their levelling system had occasioned.
 We shall soon see what measures were afterwards
 taken for this purpose, when the King had
 more in his power to render his proposals ef-
 fectual. Mean time, I am, &c.

would neither pray for one Sovereign when in apparent danger
 nor thank God for delivering another out of it? And how
 working must it have been to the King, to have his own
 word, and the solemn declaration of so many of his nobility,
 impudently called in question; as if nothing less than his
 actually murdered would have convinced these men that
 had been a design to murder him? So much indeed had
 spirit of peculiar perverseness infected the succeeding generation
 of that character, that for many years the story of Gowrie's
 conspiracy was sneered at, and ridiculed by them as an idle
 device by the court to ruin that nobleman, whose father
 grandfather had done their cause such signal services, till at
 the beginning of this century, the Earl of Cromarty, Lord
 Register, published a full and authenticated account
 from the public records, which his office afforded him the
 opportunity of, and evinced the reality of it beyond any reason-
 able possibility of contradiction.

LETTER

L E T T E R X L I I I .

*Accession of K. James to the English Throne—
 He prohibits a seditious Assembly at Aberdeen
 —The Scottish Parliament restores the tem-
 poral Estate of Bishops—Proceedings of two
 Assemblies in favour of Episcopacy—Consecra-
 tion of three Scottish Bishops in London—
 Episcopacy fully established in Scotland, and all
 the Sees filled with real Bishops—Trial of a
 Jesuit—Absolution of the Marquis of Huntly
 —Acts of Assembly in favour of a Liturgy,
 &c.*

ON the twenty fourth day of March 1603,
 died Elizabeth, Queen of England, in the
 70th year of her age, and 45th of her reign:
 And the same day, the King of Scots, as un-
 doubted heir, was proclaimed King, first at the
 palace of Whitehall, and then at the cross in
 Cheapside, with a vast applause of all sorts of
 people. The Pope had been very busy to pre-
 vent this succession, and upon hearing of the

LETTER Queen's illness, had sent over his Bulls, warning al
 XLIII. the Papists in England not to admit or acknow-
 ledge any heretic, however near in blood, & he should swear to maintain the Catholic faith with all his power. But these threatnings were ineffectual, and our King got possession of a throne which was his birthright, without the least obstacle from any quarter. On the fourth of April after having taken an affectionate leave from while of his native subjects, he began his journey towards London, attended by a splendid company of his own nobility; and hearing, by way, of the death of his ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, he immediately nominated one of his chaplains, Mr. John Sp-
 wood, to that See. On the seventh of May was joyfully received in London, and on the 27th of July he and the Queen were solemnly inaugurated in the abbey-church of Westminster. John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Spotf. 478.

The first ecclesiastical affair of consequence after his accession to the English throne, was a conference held at Hampton-court, in the beginning of next year, between some Bishops and divines of the established church, and some of the most eminent of the nonconformists, who objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Eucharist, bowing at the name of Jesus, and following others of the received rites, and endeavoured to make the King believe that they were a much more numerous body than they really were. After this conference, which discovered to the both the King's knowledge of, and aversion to their principles, there were so few of them who stood out against the decent ceremonies of the church, that, when the Canons were put in execution

tection by Archbishop Bancroft some years after this, only forty five were ejected for nonconformity, of all the clergy in England, who are reckoned to be nine thousand and upwards: Such a noise will a few disturbers make in any society, when they are not properly taken notice of.

LETTER
XLIIH.

The remains of Mr Melvil's faction, in Scotland, laying hold of the King's absence, began to bestir themselves for recovering the ground which they had lost by his management, while among them. The last assembly which had been held before his departure, had appointed the next meeting to be at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday of July 1604. But because of the union intervening, and some other weighty considerations, it was prorogued to the same month in the following year. And now the party over all the kingdom made great preparation for keeping of this meeting, intending to call in question, and set aside the articles that had been agreed on in the former assemblies, for settling episcopal government, and other regulations of discipline. The King, being timely informed of these preparations, and determined to prevent the overthrow of the good foundation which he had laid, directed the commissioners of the kirk, who were constituent members of every assembly, to desert the diet, and to make intimation of his pleasure to all the Presbyteries in the kingdom. The far greater part resolved to obey: Nine Presbyteries only of the whole fifty sent their delegates, so that when the day came, there were only twenty one ministers convened at Aberdeen, of whom Mr. John Forbes at Alford, and Mr. John Welch at Ayr, were the principal ringleaders. The Laird of Lauriston, who was the King's commissioner, dis-

LETTER charged their assembling, and in his majesty's name commanded them to dissolve. In contempt of which, they chose Forbes their moderator, and then continued the assembly to the last day of September. For this mutinous procedure, Forbes and Welch were imprisoned in Blackness, and others that were obstinate in different places, and thirteen who confessed their fault were dismissed and suffered to return to their charges. The necessary severity raised a prodigious clamour, but made no impression on the offenders. For being brought before the council on the 24th of October to account for their disobedience, they justified what they had done, and declined all submission to the council's authority. Upon this fresh provocation, Forbes and Welch, with other four of the most conspicuous of them, were criminally tried before a court of justiciary at Linlithgow, on the tenth of January, and being found guilty of treason by a jury, were remanded back to prison till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. But while these factious spirits were disputing the King's authority in Scotland, another tribe of malcontents of a different denomination were carrying on a most horrid conspiracy against his person in England. The Papists there, finding no hopes of relief from this new King, who, they saw, was as capable to combat their religion by argument, as to suppress it by law, had contrived a hellish plot to blow up the Parliament house with the King and three estates in it, and for this diabolical purpose had got every thing ready against the first meeting of that august assembly. In the mean time an ambiguous letter, sent with a friendly design to the Lord Mounteagle, and by him communicated to the King, raised a suspicion

cution of what was going on : And a search being **LETTER**
made, the plot was discovered on the 5th of No- **XLIII.**
vember, only a few hours before the intended
mischiefe, and the villain Guy Fawkes, who was
to have fired the train, was caught at the door
with his lantern in his hand.*


The next year the Parliament of Scotland met **A D. 1606.**
in July, and passed two important acts, one for
confirming his Majesty's prerogative, and the other
for restoring the temporal estate of Bishops, as
it was now seen how much the act of annexa-
tion impeded his design of having that order
brought back to its former station both in church
and state. When the Parliament rose, the King cal-
led up a select number of the ministers to Lon-
don, both of such as favoured his views of restor-
ing episcopacy, of whom Spotswood the titular
Archbishop of Glasgow was one, and of such as
stood up for the Genevan parity, with their great
patron Mr. Andrew Melvil at their head. On
the 20th of September they all attended at Hamp-
ton court, where the King had appointed four
English Bishops, Barlow of Lincoln, Buckridge
of Rochester, Andrews of Chichester, and King
of London, to preach upon the subject of church

* The King expressed a moderation and magnanimity on this
occasion which does honour to his character, and conducted the
punishment of this damnable design with as much mercy and le-
nity as was consistent with the indispensable execution of neces-
sary justice. Yet the Jesuits have attempted to deny this plot, or
at least to lessen the horror of it, as if it had been only the imprac-
ticable fancy of a crack-brained madman, tho' the Popish Priest
Blackwell, who lived in England at the time, and had many con-
tacts with that seditious order, fairly acknowledges the fact, and
in a monitory letter to the Catholics under his inspection, dated
the 28th of November, condemns it as a most detestable and **Col. 691.**
damnable crime.

government,

LETTER government, hoping thereby to remove the pre-
 XLIII. judices of the Scottish faction, and to convince
 ~~~~~ them of the reasonableness of what he had been  
 so long proposing to them. In a day or two  
 after, they had audience of the King, who, among  
 other pertinent questions, asked them what their  
 opinion was of the meeting at Aberdeen, and  
 they thought it a lawful assembly. But tho' he  
 argued with them in person, and put his questions  
 into various forms, they either shifted him with  
 evasive answers, or gave him to understand that  
 they approved it: At which the king was so pro-  
 voked, that permitting the other clergy to go home  
 when they pleased, he forbade Melvil and his  
 adherents either to return to Scotland, or come near  
 the Queen's or Prince's court. This put an end  
 to Melvil's influence. For being now in  
 old age as intolent and self-conceited as he had  
 been in his youth, and having dispersed so  
 scurrilous invectives against the rites used in  
 Majesty's chapel, he was committed to the Tower  
 of London, and was kept there three years and  
 more, till at the Duke of Bouillon's request he was  
 sent over to Sedan in France, where he lived  
 some time in no great respect, and died in  
 distressed condition. Mean time the affair of the  
 six imprisoned ministers was brought to a final  
 determination. The sentence against them having  
 expressed a reference to the King's pleasure,  
 his orders were that they should be banished from  
 his dominions for life; though they were ordered  
 sent to some remote parts of the kingdom, and with-  
 out any tumult or commotion, notwithstanding  
 the great sway they once had over the deluded  
 multitude.

These turbulent humours being thus dispersed  
 b

King's prudent measures, he called a ge-<sup>LETTER</sup> assembly to meet on the 10th of Decem-<sup>XLIII.</sup> Linlithgow, and appointed the Earl of  his commissioner to attend it. Thither <sup>Spotf. sco.</sup> an hundred and thirty six ministers, and nobility, and other lay-members, thirty before whom the King's letter was read, overture from him, that for remedying orders of former times in their churches, the Bishops who are resident should in the meetings within their bounds, and in presbyteries the oldest, gravest and most need minister should be fixt and constant, for the encouragement of which scheme, defray any extraordinary expence, he was to allow them an hundred pounds Scots, hundred merks, according to the quality or charge. This proposal of a constant moderator was variously thought of, according to various notions of the views which they saw the King had, and to which they saw well this overture was a designed introduction. But at length, after long deliberation and conference, it was agreed to by a great y of the assembly, under certain providend regulations, which were thought necessary to guard against any usurpation that these moderators might assume over brethren of the rank and order. Yet, as the King suspected with opposition. The synod of Perth and then the synod of Fife, declared against it, prohibited the presbyteries within their bounds submitting to the decree of the assembly, acknowledging the moderators appointed for under pain of the censures of the kirk. which unconstitutional arrogance, in thus so  
openly

LETTER openly flying in the face of their own supreme  
 XLIII. court, the Privy Council discharged these  
 ~~~~~ synods from further meeting, and ordered all  
 burghs within their districts not to admit of
 convening in any of them.

All this time the three Popish Lords were both giving and getting disturbance. The zealous zeal of the kirk, in pushing prosecution to extremity against them on the one hand, and the King's tender care of having them reclaimed from their prejudices by gentle methods on the other hand, had hitherto kept matters in a kind of suspense: And the noblemen, harrassed by frequent attacks from the kirk, sometimes seen desirous of coming to an agreement with them, and at other times, when pressed by the inward reluctance of their own consciences, they retreated even the appearance of compliance which they had extorted from them, and fell back to their former profession. The consequence of all this was, that Huntly, whom the kirk had always considered as the most obnoxious, was excommunicated anew, and all the three were shut in different prisons, Huntly in Stirling, Angus in Edinburgh, and Errol in Dunbarton, till at some time Huntly renewed another sham submission to the kirk for his liberation; Errol on the King's account treated with some appearance of lenity; and Angus, for the free exercise of his religion, went over a voluntary exile to France, where he died.

These were harsh measures, not dictated by a forgiving spirit of the gospel, but agreeable enough to the rules of worldly policy, which leads people to take all proper measures for curing themselves against dangers which threaten them.



had once felt. In a religious view such severities will not bear a vindication: As however much a Protestant state may see it expedient and even lawful to keep a watchful eye over its Popish subjects, it looks not well in a Protestant church to exercise that spiritual tyranny over others, which they loudly complained of when exercised against themselves, and thus to fight Popery with the very weapons which they condemned when in Popish hands. Yet the excommunication, which the assemblies at this time thundered out against these outstanding noblemen, was, like the Papal edicts, designed to throw the objects of their displeasure under the penalty of secular laws, and to expose them, if not to death, at least to banishment or imprisonment, and to the forfeiture of all their worldly goods. For so an act of parliament passed in January 1609 ordains, "that persons excommunicated for not conforming to the religion presently professed, should neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the same should be introduced with, and uplifted for his Majesty's use." Yea, so far was the abuse of excommunication carried, that it was the usual practice of the kirk, when any person was declared fugitive for a capital crime, to cite such person before the ecclesiastical judicatory, and on his not appearing, which they knew he durst not do, for fear of his life, to excommunicate him for contumacy: And this inconsistent stretch of discipline continued among them, till the King, observing the absurdity as well as inhumanity of it, insisted on having it abolished.

He had now for many years been striving, by

that once, might to
tration of church-aff
with the knowledge
nistry, without whi
make any change, he
of the kirk to meet
June 1610, and com
bar to represent his
assembly Mr. Spotswo
of Glasgow was chosen
days spent in reasoni
of discipline laid bet
unanimity agreed, "
" neral Assemblies d
" the prerogative of
" should be kept in ev
" in April and Octo
" the Bishop, and wh
" such of the ministe
" that turn : That no
" lution be pronounce
" son, without the kn
" of the Bishop of th
" to be pronounced a

"the suspension or deprivation of ministers, the
 "Bishop is to call in some of the neighbouring
 "ministers, and in their presence to try the fact,
 "and pronounce sentence: That the visitations
 "of the dioceses be made by the Bishop him-
 "self, or by such worthy minister as he shall
 "depute in his place, and every minister, who
 "without leave or just excuse shall be absent
 "from the visitation or diocesan synod, be sus-
 "pended from his office and benefice; and if
 "he does not amend, be deprived: And that
 "every minister at his admission swear obedi-
 "ence to the King and to his ordinary, accord-
 "ing to the form agreed upon in 1571."

In consequence of these conclusions, when the
 assembly rose, the King called up the modera-
 tor, Spotswood, to London, and desired him to
 bring with him any other two of his brethren
 titulars whom he should think fit. Accordingly
 he made choice of Andrew Lamb of Brechin,
 and Gavin Hamilton of Galloway, and with them
 arrived at London about the middle of Septem-
 ber. At their first audience the King told them,
 "that he had with great charge recovered the
 "temporalities out of lay-hands, and bestowed
 "them, as he hoped, upon worthy persons: But
 "as he could not make them Bishops, nor could
 "they assume that honour to themselves, he had
 "therefore called them to England to receive re-
 "gular consecration from the Bishops there,
 "that on their return home they might commu-
 "nicate the same to the rest, and thereby stop
 "the mouths of adversaries of all denomina-
 "tions." To this truly sensible speech Spotf-
 wood answered in name of them all, "that their
 "only fear was, lest this might be taken for a

LETTER “ sort of subjection to the Church of Engl
 XLIII. “ because of old pretensions that way.” But
 ~~~~~ King had provided against that danger, by  
 cluding both the Archbishops of Canterbury  
 York, the only pretenders to that subjection, fi  
 having any hand in the office, and nominal  
 the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath to  
 form the consecration: Which was done acco  
 ingly on the 21st of October, in the chapel  
 London-house, and thereby the Scottish Bish  
 obtained the reality of that high character wh  
 they had hitherto borne only in name. We  
 told, that before the consecration, Bishop Andr  
 of Ely proposed their being first ordained p  
 byters, as they had received no ordination fr  
 a Bishop, but was answered by Bancroft, Ar  
 bishop of Canterbury, who was present, that  
 orders they had, being of necessity for want  
 Bishops, were sufficient, “ otherwise the voca  
 “ of the foreign reformed churches might be  
 “ led in question.” That this popular a  
 ment was made use of by Bancroft, Archbil  
 Spotswood himself tells us, and rests there, w  
 out taking notice of any thing further. But  
 Heylin, Collier, &c. have information from other hands, that Dr. I  
 croft added a more convincing solution, and  
 only solution which could give satisfactor  
 a man of Ely’s strict principles, that accor  
 to many examples in the primitive church,  
 Episcopal order included all below it, and  
 frequently the regular conferring of it supp  
 every real or supposed defect.

Upon this occasion too the King institute  
 court of *High Commission* in Scotland, for or  
 ing of all ecclesiastical causes, and gave d  
 tions to the clergy, which they all approved

seable to the conclusions that had passed LETTER  
 themselves in their late assembly in June. XLIII.  
 ree consecrated Bishops, on their return ~~~~~  
 conveyed the Episcopal powers, which they  
 w received in a canonical way, to their  
 titular brethren, to Mr. George Glad-  
 St. Andrews, Mr. Peter Blackburn in  
 m, Mr. Alexander Douglas in Moray,  
 George Graham in Dunblain, Mr. David  
 in Ross, Mr. Alexander Forbes in Caith-  
 r. James Law in Orkney, Mr. Alexander  
 in Dunkeld, Mr. John Campbell in Ar-  
 id Mr. Andrew Knox in the Isles. Thus  
 ty years of confusion, and a multiplicity  
 ings and turnings, either to improve or  
 e the plan adopted in 1560, we see an  
 al church once more settled in Scotland,  
 egular Apostolical succession of Episcopacy  
 ced, upon the extinction of the old line  
 had long before failed, without any at-  
 real or pretended, to keep it up. The  
 ad been long projecting this settlement,  
 d gone on by gradual advances, from one  
 another, with much patience and great  
 ance to the last. Yet it cannot be said,  
 e education he had received in his youth  
 ch as would prejudice him in favour of  
 acy, or that it was the ambition of the  
 which prompted him to the re-establishment  
 It is true, many of them were, even in  
 es of the greatest confusion, well inclined  
 primitive Episcopal model, and sufficiently  
 ted with early antiquity to see the ex-  
 y and necessity of it: But a few turbu-  
 cendiaries, such as Melvil, Blake, and  
 who, when they appear, will always find  
some

LETTER XLIII. some abettors and followers, were perpetually raising such clamour and disturbance, as deterred the quiet lovers of truth from entering lists, to struggle with such fiery and unmanageable tempers. And had not the King been assisted by his learning to confute their licentious principles, as well as steady to the resolutions he had formed, these few fanatical levellers would have kept both church and state in a continued ferment. But his constancy carried his point, he was happy enough to see the good effects of it. The persons now invested with the Episcopal character, made it their business, both by example and authority, to stem the tumultuous torrent of former times, and to preserve peace and harmony among all ranks of people under their charge: In so much that a Presbyterian historian, cotemporary with this solemn restoration of real Episcopacy, makes a heavy complaint, that by far the greatest part of the nation submitted quietly to it, neither was it the power of the late democratical spirit for long time to create any opposition to it, or turbulence under it.

Calderwood.

But tho' the weak remains of that party did not, or could not for a while, give much uneasiness to the now restored church, there was another set of malecontents pursuing the same sign under other colours, which kept her in agitation, and occasioned some trouble to her governors. In the end of the year 1613, one O'vy, a Jesuit, from the College of Gratz in Hungary, was apprehended at Glasgow, and brought before the High Commission, had thirteen questions put to him, "Whether the Pope  
"supreme judge has power over the King  
"tempo-

Spotf. 523.

" temporals in order to spiritual concerns? Whether the Pope may excommunicate or depose his Majesty? Whether the Pope hath power to absolve the subjects from their native and sworn allegiance to the King? And whether it be lawful to slay a King, if once excommunicated and deposed by the Pope?" To all which the man was cunning enough to give evasive answers, tho' upon the main, they seemed to be on the affirmative side, and when at his trial Archbishop Spotswood pushed him with the question, " Whether the King, if deposed by the Pope, might be lawfully killed?" He boldly replied, " It is a question among the Doctors of the church: Many hold the affirmative not improbable: But as that point is not yet determined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it, and to call it unlawful I will not, tho' I should save my life by saying it." He had, in his speech before the King's judges, declined their authority in matters of religion, with which he said the King has nothing to do, and which assertion, he added, " the best of your own ministers do maintain as well as I, and if they be wise they will continue of the same mind." The conclusion was, that the unhappy man, for this dangerous and unchristian doctrine, was found guilty of treason, and publicly hanged in the street of Glasgow the same day. But another of his party taking a safer course, and denying Ogilvy's positions, was suffered to depart out of the country, the King always declaring that he would never hang a Jesuit for his religion, tho' his own personal

LETTER XLIII. sonal safety required his keeping a watchful eye over them.\*

Soon after this trial the Archbishop of St. Andrews died, and was succeeded by Spotswood. Glasgow, to which See Bishop Law was removed from Orkney. The next public matter ecclesiastical cognizance was the absolution of Marquis of Huntly, which, on account of the circumstances attending it, deserves to be taken notice of. He had been lying these eight years past under a sentence of excommunication, tho' he had made several appearances of satisfaction, had still, on some pretext or other avoided the actual performance of what was required. At last, being impatient to see the King whom he knew to have been always his friend he took journey to London in the year 1616, when so far on his way, he met a messenger from the King ordering him to return, and satisfy his high commission in Scotland. The Marquis, unwilling to be thus disappointed, begged the messenger to let the King know, that his coming was on purpose to give his Majesty contentment in every thing, and to beseech his Majesty, that he was so far on his journey, not to deny him his presence. The King was much pleased with this declaration, and permitting him to come to town, directed him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom the Marquis voluntarily offered to communicate. But his excommunication standing in the way, and it being against

\* The late instance of his brother King Henry IV. of France first wounded by one, and then finally murdered by another of that frantic fraternity, was a melancholy warning to all Kings to be on their guard against such authorised cut-throats, and to keep them at elbow-length as much as possible.

Canons, that a person excommunicated in one church should be absolved in another, without the consent of the church he belonged to, application was made to the Bishop of Caithness, who opened to be in London about business, that would consent to, and witness the absolution name of the church of Scotland, which was held to be warrant enough for their proceedings. Upon which the Marquis was solemnly absolved in Lambeth chapel, by Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a form compiled on purpose, and expressing, among other things, "such an agreement and correspondence between the churches of England and Scotland, that what the Bishops and pastors of the one, without any earthly respect, shall accomplish to satisfy the christian and charitable end and desire of the other, cannot be distasteful to either." When accounts of this affair were brought to Scotland, great exceptions were taken by the church here; and what the Archbishop of Canterbury had done, was interpreted to be a sort of usurpation. But this fear was soon removed by a letter from the King, and another from Canterbury, both addressed to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and both acknowledging in the plainest and strongest terms, the full authority and absolute independence of the church of Scotland upon any other church whatever.\* These letters

\* In considering the Marquis of Huntly's conduct, it appears somewhat strange, that he should so long have scrupled to communicate with the church of Scotland, even under the late reformation upon the English plan, and yet on his first appearance in London should have agreed so readily to join in communion with the church there. This will no doubt be imputed to inconstancy and a time-serving disposition: But there is a passage in the King's letter which may be made use of, to account for it

LETTER XLIII. being shewn to the clergy of Scotland, gave a verbal content, and the Marquis himself, on his turn from court, appearing in the next assembly at Aberdeen, had his absolution ratified, and was received into the bosom of the church by their own form.

In this assembly, where the Earl of Montrose sat as commissioner, it was ordained, “that the acts of assemblies should be collected and put in order, to serve for Canons of discipline, and that children should be carefully catechised, and confirmed by the Bishop, or in his absence, such as were employed in visitation of churches, and that a liturgy, or book of Common Prayer should be formed for public use.” These were sent up and presented to the King for royal assent, by the Archbishop of Glasgow Bishop of Ross: And the King, along with approbation, recommended to them the following articles, to be inserted among their Canons, “that the holy communion should be received kneeling; that it should be given to dying persons on their desiring it, at home; that it

should be administered in another way. Among other arguments, the King desired the church of Scotland to consider, that tho’ the Marquis had subscribed all the other articles of religion, and had frequently heard sermon, yet “his absolution at home was deferred, on the scruple he made about the presence of our Saviour in the sacrament.” From this it would appear, that the doctrine of the Eucharist in the church of England, where he had no scruple about the presence of Christ in it, was at that time different from the doctrine of the church of Scotland, which kept him from partaking of it with them: And if this was the case of this nobleman, as we have the King’s word it was, it shews he had all along been more honest and conscientious in a matter of so high importance, than many of his prosecutors had been willing to believe, or perhaps capable to perceive.

e difficulty of admitting these articles, how-  
expedient in themselves, being represented  
Majesty, by the Archbishop of St. An-  
and a reason given why they could not  
erted among the Canons, as having at no  
een mentioned to the church, nor pro-  
ed in any of their meetings, the business  
ot further pressed at present, but referred  
more convenient season.

I am, &c.

K k 2

LETTER



*K. James comes to Scot  
ment—Proceedings  
cal Matters—Ar  
—Agreed to by an  
dered to be observed—  
Dort in Holland—  
put under proper Reg  
Death of James VI.*

A.D. 1617. **T**HE King having l  
in England, was  
visit to his native cou  
preparations for his re  
to repair the chapel of  
down some portraits of  
in proper places, as o  
being signified to his Ma  
of St. Andrews. the Ri

and even in some measure with these Bishops LETTER XLIV.  
 who, he thought, humoured the people in them, ~  
 yet for the sake of peace, he condescended to  
 recall his orders, but cautiously put it upon the  
 footing of want of time to get the work pro-  
 perly done. In prosecution therefore of his de-  
 sign, he took his journey from London, and in  
 the beginning of May came to Berwick, where  
 he was met by the Privy Council of Scotland,  
 and by their advice summoned a Parliament to  
 convene at Edinburgh on the 13th of June. On  
 the day appointed the Parliament was held, and  
 the King in a long speech recommended to the  
 States the establishment of religion and justice,  
 either of which, he said, could be looked for,  
 unless due regard was had to the ministers of  
 God. The first article proposed to public deli-  
 beration was, touching the royal authority in  
 causes ecclesiastical, concerning which he desired  
 it might be enacted, "that whatsoever conclu-  
 sion was taken by his Majesty, with advice of  
 the Archbishops and Bishops, in matters of ex-  
 ternal policy, the same should have the power  
 and strength of an ecclesiastical law." But  
 Woodhouse tells us, that the Bishops interced-  
 ing, humbly intreated that the article might be  
 better considered, as in making ecclesiastical laws,  
 they said, the advice and consent of presbyters  
 was also required: Upon which, the King, with  
 much reluctance, agreed that the article should  
 pass in this form, "that whatever his Majesty  
 should determine in the external government  
 of the church, with the advice of the Arch-  
 bishops, Bishops, and a competent number of  
 the ministry, should have the strength of a  
 law."

So

LETTER XLIV. So far were the Bishops, we see by these two instances, from humouring or flattering the King in all his proposals, as a few malignants falsely upbraided them; and so cautious were they in this last instance, not to stretch the prerogative inherent in their character, to too great a height above their brethren of the lower clergy. For however willing they might be, for the sake of peace, to admit their presbyters to some share of legislative power, they could not but know that in the primitive and uncorrupted ages this was neither demanded nor practised. There were many councils or church-assemblies held there, tho' presbyters might be present, which was not always the case, they neither sought nor were allowed a decisive vote, nor was their consent required to give sanction to any Canon; however much their advice might be asked in some circumstances, and from personal considerations. Whether the condescension of our Bishops at this time, in thus parcelling out their legislative authority among their inferiors, answered any good end now, or produced any good effect afterwards, is a question to be determined by events, not by arguments; and they themselves soon saw the disagreeable consequences of what they had done. For the article, even thus modified, was taken hold of by a few malecontents among the ministers to raise a clamour, as if the whole fabric of the church was to be demolished at once: And to such a height did they carry their inconsiderate zeal, that, while the parliament was sitting, they drew up a protestation against passing the article into a law, pleading the purity of their reformation, the liberty and tranquillity of the church, and the many royal assurances

ances given them, that no innovation or alteration should be imposed upon them, without previous concurrence of the whole clergy, con-  
in a General Assembly of the church.

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XLIV.



these protesters and their modern abettors, y would bear to be reasoned with, might be mind, that the article, as admitting "a competent number of the ministry into council with the King and Bishops," was no infringement of any of their privileges, nor in the contradictory to their darling boast of the of the reformation. For even in the times greatest purity, when, as one of their caustorians flourishes upon it, "mercy and th, righteousness and peace, had never, since rist's coming in the flesh, a more glorious ating and amiable embracing upon earth;" then it was ordained by an assembly in 1562, t no minister leave his flock for coming to assembly, except he have complaints to ke, or be complained of, or at least be warn-thereto by the Superintendent." And in r assembly in 1563, it was enacted, "that e have place to vote in the assembly but erintendents, commissioners for visiting the rs, and ministers brought with them, preed as persons able to reason, and having wledge to judge." Yea, as far down as ear 1576, the very year to which Petrie s his flaming panegyric, we find by a letter the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, to Beza, t had been the custom ever since the refor- n, for the Superintendents, or Bishops, as mis calls them, who were standing and ne- y members of assembly, to nominate and at such ministers as were to sit in assembly with

Petrie.

LETTER with them. This was a distinguishing branch of  
 XLIV. Episcopal privilege then, and was reckoned no  
 encroachment on the liberty and unity of the  
 church, which, Petrie says, "could not at that  
 time be paralleled by the best reformed churches  
 in other places." And it will not be easy to  
 assign a valid reason why the Bishops afterward  
 should not enjoy the same privilege of calling in  
 to their consultations, when his Majesty proposed  
 any thing to them that concerned the church  
 such ministers as they knew "were able to reason,  
 and had knowledge to judge," which may  
 very well be supposed to have been what was  
 meant by "the competent number of the ministry"  
 specified in the article.

It is true, after Melvil's levelling system had  
 been rashly adopted, the former orderly custom  
 soon fell into desuetude, and every fiery forward  
 orator took care to get himself, or one of his  
 own temper, pushed into the assemblies, with  
 other view but to make a noise, and have the  
 glory of contending with the civil power. And  
 it was against that kind of packed and promiscuous  
 meetings, that the King expressed his disgust,  
 when he told them, that "to have matters  
 ruled as they had been in such general assemblies,  
 he would never agree, tho' he was against  
 a competent number of the gravest and most  
 learned of the ministers being called in to assist  
 the Bishops with their advice." However, the  
 protestation, tho' it discovered the restless spirit  
 of the contrivers, was not presented: And the  
 King, to stop any further cavilling on the subject,  
 did not insist on having the article brought into  
 parliament, as necessary to be enforced by that  
 sanction. Yet some of its most violent

violent opposers continued to make an outcry about it, and the famous Calderwood, for his singular obstinacy and insolence on the occasion, got himself first imprisoned, and then banished the kingdom, in which exile he remained, till the commotions of his party in the next reign brought him again on the stage. At last the King having, in some measure, tho' not fully to his mind, dispatched the business for which he came to Scotland, began to think of returning to his English capital, and having called the Bishops and principal ministers to attend him at St. Andrews, and put them in mind what he had done both for the external advantage and internal order of the church, and what further decent regulations he wished to be introduced among them, he gave his permission to the meeting of an assembly at St. Andrews in November next, and so took an affectionate and final leave of them.

When the day came for the assembly's meeting, and all were convened, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as President, exhorted them, for the glory of God, the honour of the gospel, and their own good, to take a prudent course, and not to thwart the King's good intentions, by courting the vain applause of a factious few. Yet the assembly thought the matters laid before them of such importance, that they judged it proper to defer the full conclusion of most of them to another meeting, and only came to a determination of these two points, "that the communion might be administered to sick persons in private at their own houses; and that the ministers in the public celebration of the Lord's supper, should give the elements out of their own

LETTER XLIV. “hands to the people.” The King was from being pleased with this dilatory way was quite contrary to what he was made to that besides writing two sharp letters to Archbishops, he sent peremptory orders Privy Council, for inhibiting the payment to any of the contumacious ministers in town or country, till they shewed the formity, and had it attested either by P. M. or ordinary Bishop. This opened eyes, and brought them to such a temper they were fain to promise compliance, and begged the Primate to intercede with him for them, which he did accordingly, and a conditional revocation of the alarm. Most of the next summer was taken up with this business; and in the diocesan synods were carried with reasonable quietness, and such a fair prospect of union in sentiment at the joint intreaty of all the Bishops, that notwithstanding of what he had lately threatened was prevailed with to give way to another meeting of assembly in August following.


Accordingly it sat down at Perth, on the 10th of August 1618. The Lords Haddington, Montgomery, and Scoon were his Majesty's commissioners; and here, after long conference and deliberation, the five articles proposed by him two years before, and seriously and frequently canvassed since, were in open and full assembly concluded upon, and an ordinance made, *i. e.*

“the holy sacrament be received meekly  
 “verently by the people upon their knowledge  
 “That if any good christian known to be  
 “tormented by long visitation of sickness  
 “resort to the church for receiving the  
 “communion

“ communion, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his own house, the minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, but shall administer it to him, with three or four to communicate with him, according to the form prescribed in the church. 3. That in cases of great need and danger, the minister shall not refuse to baptize an infant in a private house, after the form used in the congregation, and shall, on the first Lord’s day after, declare such private baptism to the people. 4. That for stopping the increase of Popery, and settling true religion in the hearts of people, it is thought good that the minister of every parish catechize the young children of eight years of age in the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord’s prayer, and that children so instructed shall be presented to the Bishop, who shall bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and continuance of God’s heavenly graces with them. 5. That considering how the inestimable benefits of our Lord’s birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole church of the world, and may be so now, therefore it is thought meet, that every minister shall upon these days make commemoration of the said inestimable benefits from pertinent texts of scripture, framing his doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuking all superstitious observation, and licentious profanation thereof.”

These articles thus concluded, orders were given to intimate them to all the parish-churches, and the ministers were enjoined to instruct their



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XLIII.  flocks in the lawfulness of them, and to exhort them to obedience. Most of them indeed observed the injunction : But the factious and seditious party paid no regard to it. They even published calumnious and malevolent libels, both against the articles themselves, and against the competency and authority of the assembly that enacted them.\* And because the synod of Dort in Holland did about this time pass sentence upon five points of abstruse theology in dispute between the Remonstrants and them, our malecontents here were at pains to make people believe that the Dutch synod, which was cried up as a standard of orthodoxy, had condemned the assembly of Perth and its five articles, and by that means they for some time fostered the ignorant vulgar in their prejudices, till the imposition was discovered, and the authors of it put to the shame they deserved.

As this synod of Dort was much spoken of at the time, and by our King's countenancing with the presence of some of the ablest of his divines, came in a few years to possess no small influence, and to create lasting divisions in the churches in his dominions, it will be proper that we take some notice of it, and even touch back a little, and touch at the causes that occasioned it. The reformation made its first


\* These libels no sooner appeared, than they were answered and confuted, by two eminent writers on the other side, first Dr David Lindsay Bishop of Brechin, and then by the singularly learned Dr John Forbes professor of divinity at Aberdeen, son to the worthy Patrick Forbes of Corse, the then Bishop of Seck, both which defences are sufficient to vindicate the lawfulness and obligation of the Perth-articles, as they are called, from the noisy and insignificant clamours that ever were, or ever will be, raised against them.

parance in the Low Countries, and in what is LETTER XLIV.  
 now called Holland, according to the Lutheran ~  
 model, both in discipline and doctrine. Among  
 other doctrinal tenets, that of predestination had  
 long been much agitated in the Romish church,  
 between the Dominicans on the one side, and the  
 Franciscans on the other. The Lutherans too  
 divided upon this article: The rigid part of  
 them, with Flaccius Illyricus at their head, join-  
 ed the Dominicans, who boasted of Thomas Aquinas  
 and the great St. Augustin as their patrons:  
 But the greater number followed Melancthon,  
 and the Greek church, upon this dark and dis-  
 tatable subject. When Calvin came first upon  
 the stage of action, he struck out a way for him-  
 self, which neither Augustin nor Aquinas had  
 thought of, by supposing that God had laid on  
 Adam an unavoidable necessity of falling into  
 sin and misery, in order that he might shew his  
 mercy in electing some few of his posterity, and  
 his justice in the absolute rejection or reprobation  
 of all the rest. This scheme appeared so  
 shocking to most of the Lutherans, that they  
 expressed a greater readiness to return to Popery,  
 than come into it. Yet Calvin's disciple and  
 successor Beza improved upon it, by fixing the  
 decree of predestination before the fall, which  
 Calvin himself had placed in the corrupted mass  
 of mankind, as viewed after it. And their joint  
 authority had influence enough to get this doc-  
 trine, with all its consequences, and without ex-  
 amination, received and established, not only at  
 Geneva their metropolis, but even by degrees  
 imposed upon all the reformed churches in the  
 Low Countries where the French Protestants, who  
 were all Calvinists, had any footing.

Yet

LETTER  
XLIV. Yet there were numbers, especially in the p  
vince of Utrecht, who still adhered to the ot  
side of the question, and could not digest Bez  
harsh doctrine, and in this state matters coi  
nued among them, without any great ferment,  
the time that Beza lived. But soon after  
death in 1605, people began to speak their mi  
with greater freedom, and his Supralapsarian i  
tem was attacked from different quarters.  
this time, the well known Arminius was Profes  
of Divinity at Leyden, and being a man of gr  
reputation for universal learning, and acuteness  
controversial management, was employed to  
fend the established doctrine against the rising  
position. But it happened to him, as to sever  
others in like cases, that upon examining a  
balancing the reasons on both sides, he w  
brought over to the opinions which he prop  
ed to confute, and became a keener and mor  
formidable adversary than any that had yet a  
peared on that side of the question. He w  
immediately taken up by his brother-profess  
Gomarus, a fierce austere man, but inferior to A  
minius in every thing except in rigour and i  
nature. Thus the flame broke out, and was ke  
up with mutual violence and animosity. Num  
bers of learned men declared for Arminius, a  
his party found themselves so strong, that, abo  
the time of his death in 1609, they present  
to the States of Holland a writing, which th  
called a Remonstrance, and from which th  
have got the title of Remonstrants, containi  
their belief upon these five points. 1. That G  
in election and reprobation has regard to fa  
and perseverance in the one, and to unbelief  
impenitence in the other. 2. That Jesus Ch

for all men. 3. That by the assistance of LETTER grace the commandments of God may be XLIV.

4. That this grace is not irresistible. 5.  the regenerate may fall into deadly sin: in opposition to the five distinguishing tenets of rigid Calvinism, absolute election and reprobation, the irresistibility of grace, the inability of keeping the commandments, the certainty of perseverance of the regenerate, and that death is only for the elect.

As to allay these heats, and prevent further strife, that the States of Holland, after some time of contention, called this national synod of which decided against the Arminians, but could neither convince nor silence them. How-  
ever, reasons of state were more hurtful to the Arminian cause, than strength of argument. In the public at this time were two factions.—  
The first, Prince of Orange, whose family had been at the head of the Protestant interest, beginning to claim more authority than was consistent with the constitution, and on account was opposed by Barneveldt and Grotius, two of the greatest men that ever Holland bred. These two favoured the Arminians, the other party was supported by the Prince of Orange, and by our King James, who sent over a troop and some divines to attend the synod, without taking any share in the business of it. By the superior weight of this influence the Arminian divines were synodically condemned, and severely treated by the civil power. Barneveldt was seized and beheaded; and Grotius was confined for trial in a castle belonging to the Prince of Orange, but fortunately made his escape, and

undetermined. The  
by our reformers in  
on this head than eve  
and tho' it speaks, in  
and reprobate, it is ft  
Beza's, and such as a  
together disapprove.  
mour of Puritanism ha  
Britain, this decision  
laid hold on as a pov  
most heterogeneous a  
monarchy was called  
day Arminianism, as so  
supplies the place of  
many who know litt  
means.

To this foreign asser  
malignants applied for  
ces they pretended to  
copacy and the five arti  
application was to no p  
meddled with nothing  
of speculative divinity  
They entered

by the title of reverend Prelate and Lord Bishop. LETTER XLIV.  
 This alone may shew what little ground the enemies of Episcopacy either then or since had to appeal to the synod of Dort, granting its authority to have been more decisive than it is, upon that question.\*

But to return to Scotland; the articles of faith were cordially received in most places of the kingdom, except in Edinburgh, where a few of clergy and laity pretended to find fault with them, yet were so conscious how little ground there was for their discontent, that when they were questioned about it, they all excused themselves, and mutually blamed one another. To remedy this evil, the two Archbishops, by the King's direction, gave orders to the Magistrates to make of the division of the town into separate parishes, as had been often proposed, and to provide for other ministers, besides those that were in

\* It was not among Protestants only that the predestinarian controversy with its appendages was tossed at this time. The Romanists, under their common head the Pope, were as much divided about it, as the Protestants were in all their different denominations. Jansenius, a Spanish divine of Louvain, who was made Bishop of Ipres in 1635, and died in 1638, appeared about the same time on Beza's side of the doctrine, with as much keenness as any Calvinist of them all, and in his book, called *Augustinus*, carried all the lengths that either Calvin or Beza could have gone. On the other hand the Jesuits, under two of their famous doctors Lewis Molina and Peter Fonseca, took up the opposite side of the question with equal stiffness and acrimony. And tho' the Pope successively interfered, and peremptorily enjoined silence on both parties, without venturing to decide for the one, for fear of disobliging the other, yet the paper war continued with increasing animosity for more than a century, and the Epithets Molinists and Jansenists were as disgusting to the community, as hateful to one another in the infallible church of Rome, the Arminians and Calvinists were or could be in the Protestant churches.

present service. At the same time, to prevent the usual consequences of that popular licentiousness which had been so long indulged in at metropolis, it was ordained that every minister should reside in, and have charge of his own parish; that every vacancy should be supplied by the presentation of the town council; that the several kirk-sessions should be chosen yearly by the Magistrates and ministers for the particular parishes, and that the foolish and indecent custom of the people's meeting before the communion to censure their ministers, should be totally laid aside in all time coming. Thus by the pious care of the King, and the prudent attention of the Bishops, who were all sensible, well-respected men, things went on calmly and regularly, and with such an uniformity of sentiment, that, in a Parliament held in 1621 by the Marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner for the King, the acts of the Perth-assembly were ratified, and divers other constitutions for the good of both church and state proposed and enacted.

But of all the instances of the King's tenderness and regard for the peace and honour of the church of Scotland, none was more conspicuous than his constant method of filling up such Bishopricks as fell vacant in his time. For upon every such event he appointed the Archbishop of St. Andrews to convene the rest of the Bishops, and all the clergy to name three or four whom they thought sufficiently qualified for that high office, so that there might be no error in the choice which he reserved the privilege of to himself, out of the approved list. This was keeping up such a harmony between the rights of the church on one hand, and the prerogatives of the crown

the other, now that they were so intimately connected and as it were intermixed with one another, that neither of the two could be aggrieved, either by the weight of Royal authority bearing hard upon the freedom of the one, or the claim of total exemption encroaching upon the dignity of the other. And if any failure or mistake was to slip into the management of church-matters, which the greatest caution cannot always prevent, the blame would by this means fall where it properly ought, upon those who, by the original constitution of the church, were the spiritual governors of it.

While the King was thus providing for the interests of religion at home, and the peace and quiet of his own subjects, he was unavoidably engaged in a quarrel abroad, by means of his connection with the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who had married his only daughter Elizabeth, and infatuated by a ruinous ambition, had brought himself and family into the greatest distress. To relieve this unfortunate Prince, and give some check to the haughty cruelty of the Austrian family, a war with Spain was resolved on, and to strengthen his hands for carrying it on, James concluded an alliance with France, by proposing a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta, the French King's sister, which was readily agreed to. But in the midst of these preparations for war, which, however necessary, was very contrary to his pacific disposition, the King was seized with a slight touch of the gout, and then fell into an ague, which in four or five fits carried him out of this world, on the 27th of March 1625, after he had reigned over England twenty



LETTER ty two years, and over Scotland, from his  
 XLIV. ther's death, thirty eight. Without regard to  
 many various opinions that have been form  
 of this first monarch of Great Britain, it i  
 justly be said, that to every sincere lover of  
 clestial order and purity, his memory will  
 precious: And no person who reads his hist  
 without prejudice, can well deny him the c  
 racter which has been often given him, of *Ja*  
*the Peaceful and the Just.*

I am, &c.

LETT

## L E T T E R XLV.

*Accession of Charles I.——Situation of Affairs in England——A Liturgy proposed for Scotland——And an Act of Revocation or Surrendry of the Church Lands——Both opposed by a discontented Party——The King visits Scotland, and erects the Bishoprick of Edinburgh——He authorizes a Book of Canons, and consents that a Liturgy be prepared for the Scottish Church——Proceedings in that Affair.*

ON the death of James, his only surviving son and heir Charles was immediately proclaimed, with the usual solemnities in both kingdoms, and began a reign, the most disastrous in the latter part of it, and most tragical in the conclusion, both to church and state, that is to be met with in the British annals. His first public transaction was solemnizing his marriage with the Princess Henrietta of France, which had been agreed upon in his father's lifetime: And this connection with one of the Popish religion, tho' otherwise a Princess of great virtue and good sense,

LETTER sense, may be said to have laid the foundat  
 XLV. of the many troubles in which he was afterwa  
 involved. As soon as the parliament met,  
 House of Commons, among other grievanc  
 took concern in matters of religion, and fe  
 moned a Mr. Montague before them, for h  
 ing, in a book which he had published at  
 late King's command against the Papists, warp  
 as they thought, towards Popery and Armini  
 ism, thus artfully classing together these  
 heterogeneous denominations, and designing  
 throw odium on the one, by such a malevol  
 conjunction with the other. Succeeding parliame  
 went on in the same strain, till at last they  
 dermined and destroyed that very Church of E  
 land which at first they artfully pretended to f  
 port and defend. The Commons would pass  
 money-bills, nor grant any subsidies, till the K  
 should redress what they were pleased to  
 grievances, and consent to such alterations in  
 religious establishment as they from time to ti  
 should point out to him. So that by the  
 agencies of government he was driven to thi  
 himself on the benevolence of his people by  
 of loan, to be repaid out of the first parliam  
 tary grants; and to desire the clergy in their  
 veral districts to encourage the chearful con  
 tribution of this loan as much as they could.  
 this occasion, however much the court mi  
 have erred in bearing hard on those who  
 fused to lend, it certainly was equally wrong  
 arbitrary in the Commons to revile those  
 were willing, and to censure the preachers  
 thought it their duty to recommend it. I  
 was this the only opposition which the King  
 with from the Puritan party, even in the be  
 n

ing, and apparently peaceable part of his reign. LETTER

The five articles of rigid Calvinism, established XLV.

in the synod of Dort, had made their way over to England, and found encouragement even among some of the Episcopal clergy, under the patronage of the then Primate, Dr. George Abbot, who, tho' not an open espouser, was a secret favourer of them. This awakened the attention of the other Bishops and clergy, who, to prevent the flame from rising to too great a height, procured the reprinting the thirty nine articles, with a declaration from the King at the head of them, in which he "prohibits all public disputations on these dark points, and orders all such disputes to be shut up in God's premises, &c." Upon this the Calvinist faction took fire, and exclaimed bitterly about Arminianism, and against the cruel restraint laid on them from preaching the sweet saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination, and from executing their commission, by declaring the whole counsel of God. The Commons too in their next session took up this controversy, and in direct opposition to the King's declaration, were bold enough to pronounce on the sense of the thirty nine articles, by this declaration of their own; "We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth the sense of the articles of religion established by Parliament in the thirtieth year of Q. Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us: And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians wherein they differ from us."

Collier, vol.  
ii. p. 747.

LETTER “us.” It was surely a business quite foreign  
 XLV. a House of Commons, to decide so peremptorily  
 in a controversy where the most learned clerics  
 were divided, and where, as their professions could  
 not qualify them, so neither did their commissions  
 empower them to enquire or determine. However,  
 the King’s declaration, notwithstanding the clamour  
 against it at that time, stood its ground ever since,  
 and appeared in its original position at the head of  
 the thirty-nine articles, in every edition of them to  
 this day. much was it the misfortune of this good  
 man, to be reviled and contradicted in things, in  
 which his successors, even acknowledged Protestants  
 and deliverers from Popery, have copied after  
 precedent, and met with no opposition.

About this time, offence was also taken at  
 the reviving the observance of some decent rites and  
 ceremonies, which, as having been of primitive  
 practice, had been retained at the Reformation,  
 but afterwards laid aside or neglected, from  
 a fanciful fear of superstition. But that which  
 raised the loudest outcry, was the King’s publishing  
 a declaration, allowing and almost enjoining  
 the use of certain sports and recreations on  
 Sunday afternoons, at the close of evening prayer.  
 Such an indulgence had been granted by authority  
 in his father’s time, but for whatever reason,  
 had not been much either observed or  
 found fault with. The revival of it now opened  
 the mouths, and employed the pens of all  
 partizans of Geneva in England, tho’ it is certain  
 that even in Geneva itself, at the beginning  
 of their reformation, and for many years after,  
 they were not so strict in this article as their  
 friends in Britain, but permitted all manner  
 law

lawful amusements, and many works of necessary labour on the Sunday, provided that the people gave attendance in the church at the time appointed. Yet, "this declaration, as Mr. Collier observes, whether on the score of indulging too much liberty, or of dispensing with a late act passed in the first parliament of this reign, was not well received, and gave the people a further disgust at the administration: And some of the clergy who scrupled the reading of it in their churches, were suspended by their ordinaries, and prosecuted in the High Commission: These rigours, tho' not very frequent, heightened the complaint, and diserved the government both in church and state."

LETTER XLV.

Hist. vol. ii. p. 758.

Thus matters stood in England during the first eight or nine years of this unhappy reign: A period full of secret murmurings and discontents, hatched originally by the remains of the Puritan faction, and fostered by the connivance or remissness of even some of the Bishops and clergy, such as Abbot of Canterbury and Williams of Lincoln, and a few more leading men among them. From this short view of the disposition of the neighbouring church, let us now return to the situation of our own affairs at home, where we shall soon find commotions bursting forth to an amazing degree of open violence: and that violence abetted and encouraged by the powerful concurrence of the English malecontents. When King James died, he left our matters, outwardly at least, and to appearance, peaceably settled both in church and state. A regular Episcopacy by canonical consecration had been admitted by the General Assemblies of the church, and confirmed by un-

...able acts of parliament. The five articles  
 Perth, after full and free debate, had been  
 unanimously agreed to, and for some years  
 uniformly practised, except by a very few of the  
 inferior clergy, who shewed as much supersti-  
 tion in opposing, as ever was, or could be shewn  
 in defending the decent rites of primitive an-  
 tiquity. The King had claimed, and was allowed  
 a certain measure of ecclesiastical supremacy, or  
 power, with advice of the Bishops and such mi-  
 nisters as he should choose for that purpose, to  
 dispose of and regulate the externals of eccle-  
 siastical polity, which power he had always exer-  
 cised in such a way as gave offence to none. But  
 those who were resolved to be offended at any  
 thing that a King should do in these matters.  
 The Bishops too were pious and prudent men,  
 and by the method which he took in the nomi-  
 nation of them, were well acquainted with him  
 and mutually agreeable to one another. The  
 Archbishop of St. Andrews, Spotswood, for his  
 good sense and singular moderation, had been al-  
 ways a particular favourite with King James.  
 The other Archbishop, Law of Glasgow, was  
 likewise a valuable man for his learning and other  
 Episcopal accomplishments. The see of Aberdeen  
 was filled with the famous Patrick Forbes of  
 Corse, who in the 48th year of his age was  
 prevailed upon to take orders, and was first mini-  
 ster at Keith for six years, and then in 1618 made  
 Bishop of Aberdeen, in which station he gained  
 the esteem of all ranks, and died universally re-  
 gretted in 1635. The rest of the sees were al-  
 full. John Guthrie was Bishop of Moray, Da-  
 vid Lindsay of Brechin, Adam Ballenden of Dun-  
 blain, Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Patrick  
 Lindsay

Lindsay of Ros, John Abernethy of Caithness, <sup>LETTER</sup> George Graham of Orkney, Andrew Lamb of XLV. Galloway, Andrew Boyd of Argyle, and Thomas Knox of the Isles.

Thus was the Church of Scotland quietly and regularly governed at the time of King James's death, very much no doubt to his satisfaction, who had done so much, and struggled so long, to accomplish this desirable end, and to bring the church in his native kingdom as near as possible to a conformity with the church of England, with which, the more he was acquainted, he declared he was still the better pleased.— Yet there remained one flagrant defect in that plan of uniformity which he so ardently wished for between the two churches, and that was, the visible bareness of the worship in our church, for want of a public and authorised liturgy or form of common prayer, whereby every minister was left to the freedom of his own conceptions, and to the effusions of a spirit not always the most orderly or pacific. He had indeed attempted to remedy this inconvenience, which himself in his own person had oft felt the fruits of, by proposing and procuring an act to be passed in a General Assembly at Aberdeen in August 1616, that a liturgy or form of common prayer should be composed for the use of the church; and to pave the way for the more cordial reception of it, he gave orders next spring, that the English liturgy should be daily used in his own chapel at Holyroodhouse from that time forth. Accordingly a form was drawn up and sent to the King, who, after a serious perusal of it by competent judges, gave it his approbation, and returned it to be properly digested, and recommended.



LETTER XLV. mended to public use. Which, as matters stood, would in all probability have taken effect if the breach with Spain, and his own death, which happened not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the success of the business at that time.

In this posture of affairs the present King succeeded to the crown, and inheriting his father's zeal for the church of England, had it equal at heart to unite his three kingdoms in one form of public worship. But being embarrassed with the Spanish war, which the last Parliament of King James had entailed upon him, and engaged on his own account in a new rupture with France, he was not in a proper condition for the first four years to prosecute the undertaking. At last, having extricated himself out of these political difficulties, and being now at leisure to attend to other things, he thought fit to put the Scottish Bishops in mind of his father's resolution, and pressed them to set about the business of the liturgy with the utmost application. Upon this they sent up Dr. John Maxwell, then one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, who waiting on his Majesty to know his pleasure, was by him directed to Dr. Laud, at that time Bishop of London, and much in the King's confidence for his piety and careful attention to church order. After many conferences on the subject, Bishop Laud gave as his opinion, "that if his Majesty would have a form of worship in Scotland different from what they had already, it were best to take the English liturgy without any variation, that so the same service book might pass thro' all his Majesty's dominions." To which Dr. Maxwell

well replied, "that the Scots would be better LETTER  
 "pleased to have a liturgy of their own, but XLV.  
 "such an one as should come near to the Eng-  
 "lish book both in matter and form ; because,"  
 as he urged in name of the Scotch Bishops,  
 "a liturgy made by themselves, and in some  
 "things different from the English service, would  
 "be most acceptable to their countrymen, whom  
 "they found very jealous of the least dependence  
 "on the church of England." This difference of  
 opinion brought the cause before the King, who  
 having weighed the arguments on both sides, de-  
 clared for the English book. This happened in  
 1629, and here the business rested till four years  
 after, when we shall hear more of it. In the  
 mean time, we must take notice of another af-  
 fair which employed the King's thoughts, and  
 may be considered as a principal cause of the  
 disturbances which followed.

During the late King's minority, the greater  
 part of the lands belonging to the cathedral  
 churches and religious houses, which at the re-  
 formation fell to the crown, and were annexed to  
 it by act of Parliament, had been, by the artful  
 contrivance of Murray and the other Regents,  
 parcelled out among the great men of the king-  
 dom, to fix them to the reforming side. Num-  
 bers of the old nobility had got surreptitious gifts  
 of some of these lands ; and what remained were  
 mostly bestowed upon younger sons of great fa-  
 milies, and other favourites, who from this settle-  
 ment were called "Lords of the new erection,"  
 such as Torphichen, Blantyre, Lindores, Balme-  
 rino, Kinlofs, and others ; so that little or no-  
 thing remained to the crown of what, by the  
 reformed constitution, ought to have belonged to  
 it

LETTER XLV. it only. This had been long complained of a heavy loss to the Sovereign, and at the same time a prodigious grievance to the generality of the nation. For these men being now possessors of the church lands, with the regalities and tythes which had belonged to the old ecclesiastical corporations, lorded it with much avarice and influence over the inferior gentry, who held of them in their newly acquired territories, and kept the poor peasants in a most miserable vassalage and subjection. The condition of the parochial clergy under these masters was equally wretched and servile: For instead of receiving the tythes of the parish originally settled upon the cure, they had only some pitiful sum in name of stipend paid them by their new Lords, which for the most part was not easy to be extorted out of such avaritious hands.

King James intended to have revoked these impoverishing grants; but falling into years and troubles, he left the prosecution of this business to his son and successor: Who finding himself pinched for want of money by the refractory humour of his English Parliaments, was advised by his Scottish council to resume into his own hands these lands, tythes, and regalities, which the present occupants could pretend no other title to but the unjust usurpation or fraudulent acquisition of their predecessors. To effect this, he resolved upon an act of revocation, and for that purpose grants commission to the Earl of Annandale and Lord Maxwell, afterwards Earl of Nithsdale, to hold a Parliament in Scotland for contribution of money and ships against the Dunkirkers, with secret instructions to Maxwell to get the act of revocation passed, if he found it practicable. But

to come to Berwick, Maxwell was informed LETTER his chief errand being known, had put all XLV. burgh in an uproar, and that a rich coach, which he had sent before him to Dalkeith, had been broken to pieces, and the horses killed by the mob, who regretted that they could not serve the master the same way. Things

in this situation, it was suggested to the King by Sir Archibald Atchison, Solicitor General for Scotland, "that the act of revolution had been represented by those that were like to be sufferers under it, as principally intended to revoke all former acts for suppressing Popery and settling the reformed religion, and therefore it would not be safe to proceed further in it: But that a commission might be issued under the great seal of Scotland, for taking the surrendries of all such priorities and tythes within the kingdom at His Majesty's pleasure, and that such as refused to submit might be impleaded one by one, beginning with such of the occupants as might be thought most willing to yield, or least able to contend: In which case he could assure his Majesty, that having the laws on his side, the courts of justice must and would pass judgment for him." This proposal was agreed upon and a commission of surrendry accordingly issued the Great Seal on the 26th of June 1627. Upon this legal authority the prosecutions were begun and carried on to the King's advantage so effectually, that some of the impleaded parties were cast in the suit, and the rest seeing, that they could raise the people against the King, could not raise them against the laws, it was thought the best and safest way to compound the

LETTER the business. Accordingly in the year 1630,  
 XLV. missioners were chosen and sent up to London  
 with the Lord Napier, then treasurer-députe, at  
 head of them, who, after a long treaty with  
 the King, did at last agree, that the communi-  
 ties should go on as formerly, and that all such  
 monopolies and tythes as had been or should  
 be surrendered, should be re-granted by the King  
 on these conditions, "that they who held  
 " hereditary sheriffdoms, with power of life  
 " and death, should quit these royalties to the King  
 " That they should give their tenants perma-  
 " nent leases for some certain term, for encour-  
 " age the improvement of the country : That pro-  
 " vision should be made for augmenting  
 " the stipends of the clergy : That they should do  
 " the yearly rents reserved to the crown by  
 " their first grants : Upon performing of which  
 " conditions, their estates should be settled upon  
 " by act of Parliament." It might have  
 been expected that these concessions and abate-  
 ments of right on the King's side would have  
 met with universal satisfaction, especially when all that  
 was done in this weighty business was ratified  
 and confirmed in the next Parliament in 1633.  
 The inferior gentry indeed thought themselves  
 sensibly obliged by these surrendries, that  
 they made a public acknowledgment to the King  
 for delivering them from an intolerable burden  
 which they and their ancestors had groaned  
 under ever since the reformation : And the parson  
 and clergy were no less transported with joy, and  
 extolled the King as the founder and protector  
 of their churches. But this fit of gratitude did  
 not last long. Within a few years, many of  
 those who had been thus signally relieved, both c


and laity, turned against their royal benefactor, and blindly followed their once arbitrary patrons into rebellion, thus, as Mr. Collier expresses it, "besides making themselves remarkable for their ingratitude, proving false to their own interest, and discovering both treason and folly at the same time."\*

LETTER XLV.

Hist. vol. ii  
p. 756.

On the other hand, the discontented part of these surrenderers, finding both their power and profit much curtailed by this legal transaction, took hold of the agitation that was then beginning about a liturgy, and made that a pretence to stir up the people and mutinous party of the clergy against the Bishops, whom they looked upon with an evil eye for the King's favour to them, in excepting their superiorities and rights of regality out of the general commission of surrendry. The offence at the liturgy, therefore, was but a device of some crafty heads to draw in the lower sort of people, who are easily wrought upon by religious clamour, and thereby to form a party to enable themselves to execute their revenge for the diminution of their worldly honour and interest. And it answered the designed end. There were still among the inferior clergy a few, who continued to grumble at the Perth-articles as not suiting their particular humours, and even entertained a secret grudge at Episcopacy itself, as being a strong and ready check upon their unruly spirits. But finding that the present King

\* It is strange to observe how much some of the nominal successors of these clergy still delight in throwing odium upon the memory of this unfortunate King, who expressed such an affectionate care for the prosperity of their predecessors, and upon whose salutary provisions they themselves have all-along founded their stipendiary claims of present aliment or future augmentation.

LETTER was resolved to maintain the government which his Royal father had established, they saw it  
 XLV.  dent to lie quiet, till some favourable opportunity should offer, and in the mean time to increase the number of their proselytes, wherever had any influence. In this they succeeded too well, especially in Fife and the West country the two capital stages of John Knox's religious knight-errantry, where his memory was revered. In these parts the ministers used to keep fast on the first Sabbath of every quarter, of which they gave no public intimation, but only in private desired such of their flocks as they could confide in, to observe the solemnity. And on these days of fasting, they used in their sermons to throw out distant hints about the danger of religion from Prelacy and its dependencies, and their prayer to supplicate for remedy, with blessing on all good means which Providence should afford for that end. This was a peculiar freedom peculiar to their extempore method of praying, and of which a pre-composed liturgy, if well knew, would deprive them. No wonder that they could not bear the thoughts of having their godly fervency controuled by a dead infirmity, or the overflowing of their mournful hearts kept in from praying, as they saw proper, against their governors in church and state, and call loudly to God and the people for a reformation of what they should be pleased to say was an evil. Yet all their zeal and rhetoric would have little effect, if this affair of the surrendry had not brought over a considerable number of nobility to their party: among whom were the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Lothian and Eglinton.

with the Lords Lindsay, Loudon and Balmerino. LETTER  
 The Bishops saw well enough what was going on; XLV.  
 but waited in patience for the King's coming  
 to Scotland, who, they hoped, by his presence  
 and prudence would set all to rights, and put  
 things on a more peaceable footing.

At last the general expectation of the royal  
 visit was gratified. On the 13th of May 1633  
 the King set out from London, and by easy jour-  
 nies came to Dalkeith on the 9th of June.\*  
 Next day he entered Edinburgh in great pomp,  
 and upon the 18th was solemnly crowned by  
 Archbishop Spotswood in the Abbey-kirk of Ho-  
 lyroodhouse. Ten days after the coronation, the  
 Parliament sat down, and besides ratifying the  
 commission of surrendries, passed two acts relative  
 to the church, the one continuing a provision  
 made in 1609, but which determined with the  
 life of the late King, "that the power of pre-  
 scribing the habits of churchmen should remain

\* The discontented party having beforehand drawn up and  
 subscribed a petition to the King and Parliament for redress of  
 grievances, they gave it to their leader the Earl of Rothes, to shew  
 it to the King in private, and in a manner steal his approbation  
 of it, before it should be presented in public. For this end, Ro-  
 thes went to Dalkeith, and imparted the business to the King.  
 But his Majesty having read the paper, gave it back to him  
 with a positive command to make no more noise about it: Where-  
 upon Rothes having communicated to the rest of the party, it was  
 agreed to suppress the petition: And so nothing more was done  
 in it till next year, when for making some bad use of it, and vent-  
 ing other libels of a criminal nature, Lord Balmerino, the  
 treacherous son of a treacherous father, was called in question  
 before the privy-council, and by an assize of his Peers con-  
 demned to die, but was by the King's clemency first relieved,  
 and then fully pardoned, which undeserved favour, that he re-  
 ceived it at the council-table on his knees, yet like a true child  
 of faction, he soon requited with perfidy and rebellion.



LETTER “ with his Majesty and his successors :”  
 XLV. the other, “ ratifying and approving all  
 “ whatsoever acts and statutes made before, at  
 “ the liberty and freedom of the true kirk  
 “ God and religion presently professed within  
 “ realm, and ordaining the same to stand in  
 “ force and effect, as if they were specially m  
 “ tioned and set down herein.” Both these  
 tutes, the one as leaving room for bringing  
 the English surplice, and the other as confir  
 ing the privileges of Episcopacy, which was t  
 the professed religion, were strenuously oppo  
 by the discontented party, particularly by  
 Lords Lindsay and Loudon, who were confide  
 as leaders of it.

Before the King left Scotland, he resolved  
 leave behind him a lasting monument of his l  
 and esteem to the church in it : And therefo  
 with the full consent and approbation : of  
 Archbishop of St. Andrews, he erected Ed  
 burgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, into a  
 shoprick, assigned to it a competent and cor  
 nient jurisdiction, out of the nearest bounds  
 the diocess of St. Andrews, appointed the fai  
 church in the town, that of St. Giles’s, to be  
 cathedral, settled a sufficient revenue upon the  
 out of the church-lands which he purchased fr  
 the Duke of Lenox, provided a Dean and ch  
 ter for it, of some of the ministers of the city :  
 neighbouring parishes, and placed a very e  
 nent scholar, Dr. William Forbes, of the fan  
 of Corfinday in Aberdeenshire, as the first  
 shop of it.\*

\* \* This worthy man had been some time Principal of the  
 rishal college in Aberdeen, next in succession to Mr. And  
 Aidie, who was so confounded at being baffled in a public

It was no doubt with a view to this erection, and the settling of other matters relative to the worship and discipline of the church, that the King brought along with him Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, who being appointed to preach before his Majesty in the Abby-church, took care to recommend the beauty and benefit of uniformity, and a reverence to the laudable ceremonies of antiquity, and was heard, says Lord Clarendon, "with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable." This was a good introduction to the King's design, and produced a conference between Laud and such of the Scots Bishops and clergy as were at hand: At which meeting Laud could not help lamenting the strange and almost singular nakedness of the Scottish manner of worship, for want of a liturgy and a proper collection of Canons, which he thought would supply all defects. The Archbishop of St. Andrews replied, "that in the late King's time a motion had been made to frame a liturgy, and collect some Canons for the church, but was deferred at that time, because of the stir at first about the Perth articles; and he still had apprehensions, that the attempting of it even yet might have some disagreeable consequences." But the other Bishops pressing the undertaking, and declaring there was no

petition about prayers for the dead, which Dr. Forbes defended, that he left his place and family, and went to England, where he died: In 1618 Dr. Forbes was by King James appointed one of the four ministers who were then added to the Edinburgh clergy, on the partition of the city into distinct parishes, and was such a celebrated preacher, that King Charles, after he had heard him, was pleased to say, "he had found a man who deserved to have a See erected for him."

danger

LETTER danger in it, the King consented that there  
 XLV. should be a liturgy for the church of Scotland.  
 ~~~~~ And here again both he and Laud insisted for  
 the English book: But the Scots Bishops, who
 better knew the humours of the people, tho'
 for their own part they had no scruple at the
 rites and ceremonies of the English church, and
 could willingly, if with safety, submit to and
 practise them, yet they had no mind that the
 very identical book of England should be brought
 in upon them. For which, besides some few
 little improprieties that they objected to in the
 book itself, they still urged the prudential reason
 which Dr. Maxwell had offered four years before,
 "that by his Majesty's continual residence
 "in England, the Scots were become jealous
 "being by degrees reduced to be but a province
 "vince to England, and entirely subjected to
 "English laws and government, which they
 "would never submit to, nor would any man
 "of honour, who loved the King best or respected
 "England most, ever consent to bring such dishonour
 "nour on his native country: And therefore it
 "might look too like an arbitrary imposition
 "from England, and a designed beginning of
 "trampling upon all the laws and privileges of
 "Scotland, if a form settled in Parliament at
 "Westminster should, without any alteration by
 "ourselves, be tendered, tho' from the King's
 "own hand, to be immediately submitted to
 "and observed in this independent church and
 "kingdom." This consideration made an impression
 pression on the King, and prevailed with him to
 drop his attachment to the English book. So
 was agreed, that a new liturgy, with some proper
 variations from the English, should be composed.

to a collection of Canons put together, to re-LETTER
and enforce the ecclesiastical discipline: All XLV.
were to be transmitted from time to time to
d, to be approved by the King, after having
vised by Dr. Laud, who in September
was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and
other divines, Dr. Juxon Bishop of Lon-
nd Dr. Wren of Norwich.

the great work was begun, which, if all
concerned had done their part honestly and
ly, according to the King's pious inten-
might have been gradually and peaceably
lished without those tumults and commo-
of which, by treachery and double-dealing,
made the ostensible cause. The book of
was first undertaken, for which these
reasons were assigned, "that by this means
might be a fixed measure for stating the
er of the clergy, and the practice of the
: That the acts of the General Assemblies
g only in manuscript, could not reach the
rality, and being not easy to be transcribed
use of their bulkiness, or to be removed
place to place because of the risk of it,
of the inferior clergy knew where to ap-
for information: That in consequence of
not one in the kingdom governed his
ice by these acts of General Assemblies:
therefore that by reducing these regula-
to a lesser compass, and laying them
to public view, nobody could miscarry
ignorance, or complain of being over-
ged." The Canons being with great deli-
n among our Bishops at home, and by
gular activity of Dr. Maxwell, lately made
Bishop

LETTER Bishop of Ross, drawn up with this view,
 XLV. presented to his Majesty, he signed a warrant
 ~~~~~ Laud and Juxon to examine the draught,  
 bring it to as near a conformity as possible  
 the English code of 1603 : Which being done  
 and a book prepared for the press, the King  
 confirmed it by letters patent under the Great  
 Seal, at Greenwich May 23d 1635, "enjoin  
 " all Archbishops, Bishops, and others exer-  
 " cising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland,  
 " see them punctually observed." These Canons  
 were printed at Aberdeen in 1636, and as  
 as published, became the subject of much  
 merriment and criticism : which indeed was no more  
 than might be expected, as any rules, however  
 innocent and useful, will for a while be apt to  
 give offence to people who have long been ac-  
 customed to no rule, or rather to be all rulers  
 miscuously or alternately, over one another.

It was about the time of forming these Canons  
 that, on the death of the old Chancellor the  
 of Kinnoul, the King was pleased, out of love  
 esteem to Archbishop Spotswood, whose fidelity  
 both the late King and himself had long experi-  
 ed, to intrust him with that highest office of State  
 the kingdom, by a commission under both the  
 in customary form, January 14th 1635, constituting  
 and creating John, Archbishop of St. Andrew  
 Lord High Chancellor of Scotland during  
 being the first and only Protestant churchman  
 ever bore that high dignity. And as a further  
 testimony of his royal affection to the church  
 he ordered six or seven of the other Bishops  
 to be admitted into the Privy Council, hoping  
 by thus giving them a legal share of power  
 the civil government and judicatories of  
 kingd

kingdom, to put them in a better capacity of regulating and settling the polity of the church. But in this, both he and they were sadly disappointed: For this unseasonable accumulation of honours, to which their functions did not entitle them, exposed them, as Lord Clarendon remarks, to the envy of the whole nobility, many of whom wished them well as to their spiritual character, but could not bear to see them possessed of those offices and employments which they looked upon as naturally belonging to themselves. But however foreign these secular engagements might have been to the Episcopal character, surely the business of the liturgy which was now going on, will be acknowledged to have been quite suitable to it, and peculiarly within the province of the Bishops. This business had been long upon the anvil even in Scotland, tho' it has often been pretended, that Archbishop Laud was the principal forger and contriver of it. But he has with his own hand, fully and fairly rid himself of either the glory or ignominy of such an imputation, and has discovered to us the wary and judicious steps, which our own Bishops took for some years in carrying on the work; and that all the hand he had in it, was only, at the King's command, to give from time to time his brotherly assistance to it, and his approbation of it when it was perfected. For however contemptibly our Scots Bishops at that time may have been represented, it appears that some of them were sufficiently capable of themselves, without Laud's assistance, if the King had not thought proper to offer it, to have composed a liturgy, upon the purest and most primitive models.

ETTER  
XLV.

LETTER  
XLV.

Dr. Forbes, the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who was no disciple of Laud's, as Laud himself tells us, had in a treatise of his, called *Modest Considerations*, given the preference to the first liturgy of Edward VI. which was the plan that our Bishops went on, in their communion-office, and had expressed a wish "that the church of England, which deserves great praise for her singular moderation in many things, had in this point, of commemorating the dead, and in several others, rather conformed to the more ancient practice of the universal church, than because of the errors and abuses that had crept in, totally to have rejected these rites, and thrown them out." And then he adds, "It had been irrefragably demonstrated by numbers of learned men, Greeks, Protestants, and even Romanists themselves, that no argument for the Popish Purgatory can be drawn from the prayers and oblations for the dead so frequently mentioned by the fathers." And another of our Bishops, Dr Wedderburn, lately made Bishop of Dunblain, on Ballenden's removal to Aberdeen, who was one of the actual compilers of our liturgy, and whom Archbishop Laud describes as a mere scholar and book-man, seems to have had both capacity and desire for restoring what he thought the commendable practices of antiquity.\* The Bishop of Ross too, Dr. Maxwell

\* Laud, in his answer to that part of the accusation against him, of the Scottish book leaving out the remembrance of the dead in the distribution, which is in the English book, as if it had been done for Popish ends, says in his own defence, "Where this omission may be thought to work, it cannot reflect upon me, who always laboured to have the English book sent forth without any omission or addition at all, this or any other way."

ho was the principal channel of correspondence <sup>LETTER</sup> this business of the liturgy, is acknowledged XLV. have been a learned and knowing man, and en Bishop Guthry, who seems to have had no od will to the younger Bishops, as he calls em, whom he describes as reckoned "not generally gifted for the office," excepts Bishop axwel, of whom he says, "it cannot be denied but he was a man of great parts." So we ay conclude that the liturgy intended for Scotland, if not entirely composed, was yet carefully ramined, and arranged by the Scottish Bishops, ho from their acquaintance with the old liturgical forms of Eucharistic service, thought proper to make the first book of Edward VI. the model which they copied after, in preference to what was then used in England. And to those who et find fault with that preference, which is still kept up by the Episcopal church in this kingdom, I would beg leave to recommend the opinion of Archbishop Laud, whose praise is and ver will be in the English church, and whose

But some of the Scottish Bishops prevailed against me herein, and some alterations they would have from the book of England, and this was one: As I have to show under the Bishop of Dunblain, Dr. Wedderburn's hand, whose notes I have yet by me, concerning the alterations in that book; and concerning this particular his words are these, The body, &c. The blood, &c. to everlasting life, whereunto every receiver answered Amen: there is no more in Edward 6th's first book, and if there be no more in ours, the action will be much shorter: Besides, the words which have been added since, "Take, eat in remembrance &c. may seem to relish somewhat of the Zuinglian tenet, that the sacrament is but a bare sign taken in remembrance of Christ's passion. So that for my part, says the Archbishop, first I see no hurt in the omission of these latter words, none at all: And next, if there be any, it proceeded not from me."



LETTER XLV. approbation in these points on which he was well versed, it is to be hoped every true friend to that church will always revere.\* If it shall be as I know it will be by some, tho' I hope none of the Episcopal persuasion, that Laud of Romish principles, and aimed at introducing Popery, there needs no other justification or character than the attestation of one of his best persecutors, Sir Edward Deering, who commenced the prosecution against him in the beginning of the long Parliament, and yet so ingenuous as to confess, "that the Archbishop's writings had smote the Papist under the rib, and wherever his grave should be, Paul's church would be his monument.

\* In his refutation of the charge brought against him, in the Scottish book, he says, p. 109. "I like it exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain what is in it. P. 113. These variations were taken either from the first book of Edward 6th, which was not Popish, or from some ancient liturgies, which favoured not of Popery. P. 121. speaking of the prayer of invocation, he says, "true, this passage is not in the prayer of consecration or service book of England, but I wish with all my heart it were. For tho' the consecration of the Elements may be performed by it, yet is it much more solemn and full by that invocation. P. 124. "As for the oblation of the elements, as it is in the Scottish book, that is fit and proper, and I am sorry for that part that it is not in the book of England." And with respect to the order of the prayers, he says, P. 115. "Tho' I do not find fault with the order of the prayers as they stand in the communion-book of England, for God be thanked it is good; yet if a comparison must be made, I do think the order of the prayers, as now they stand in the Scottish Liturgy, to be better and more agreeable to use in the primitive church. I believe they that are learned will acknowledge it. These men do bewray a great deal of will and weakness, when they call this a new communion, only because all the prayers are not in the same order." In his general account of

"his book against Fisher the Jesuit his epi-  
"taph." LETTER XLVI.

I am, &c.

hand he had in the construction of our book, he says, p. 109. "I  
"doverily believe there is no one thing in that book which  
"may not stand with the conscience of a right good protestant."

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## L E T T E R XLVI.

*The Scottish Liturgy authorized by a royal Proclamation—Reflections on the Opposition it met with—Riots in Edinburgh occasioned by it—A Covenant of Association entered into against the Government—The Marquis of Hamilton sent to appease the Tumults—A General Assembly meets at Glasgow, but is dissolved by the Marquis—It continues to sit, condemns Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and deposes the Bishops.—War resolved on, and both Parties take the Field.*

THE Scottish liturgy being now arranged and Dec. 20.  
examined, as I have mentioned in the pre-  
ceding letter, was immediately published, and at  
the same time fortified by a proclamation from  
the

LETTER the King, narrating, "that he had oft re  
 XLVI. "mended to the Archbishops and Bishop  
 "that his ancient kingdom of Scotland, to  
 "a public form of worship for uniform o  
 "vance; which now, with consent of the ch  
 "was condescended on, and therefore enjoi  
 "and commanding the due use of it, &c."

no sooner did the book make its appeara  
 than the discontented party immediately r  
 a clamour against it, and easily inflamed  
 minds of the undiscerning populace with di  
 ful apprehensions of Popery being introduce  
 to the church, and tyranny into the state.

to such a height was the ferment artfully wro  
 that it is said the two Archbishops supplie  
 the King to have the book kept back, till  
 nation was better prepared to receive it. B  
 Guthrie in his Memoirs tells us, that the old  
 shops, as he distinguishes them, were gene  
 against the measure, and lays all the blame  
 the violence and forwardness of the younger  
 Yet in this account, which coming from a  
 temporary author has been followed by ot  
 there seems to be as much of declamation  
 argument. For among the old Bishops o  
 late King's promotion, which is Guthrie's r  
 ing, we find Archbishop Spotswood corres  
 ing with Laud about the liturgy; we find B  
 Lindsay of Brechin, now of Edinburgh, kee  
 it, and as Ballenden of Aberdeen had bee  
 shop of Dunblain, and Dean of the Chapel-  
 where a liturgy had been used for many  
 it may be supposed that he would not be  
 against it. A fourth of these old Bishops, C  
 ry of Moray, suffered much from the mal  
 tents, perhaps as much for the liturgy as

else : And other two of them, Graham LETTER XLVI.  
 mey, and Lindsay of Dunkeld, by their ab-  
 their character, and submitting to the Co-  
 ers, need not, I think, be taken into the  
 ing on either side. Neither do we find  
 old men in the least favoured for their mo-  
 n, but all of them involved in the gene-  
 mplaint about the liturgy. And then as to  
 unger Bishops, they are held forth to us  
 young Bishops only, but as if they had  
 young men of no prudence or experience,  
 yet does not seem to have been the case,  
 ie of them had been long in the ministry,  
 en of character and esteem.

op Guthrie likewise tells us, that the Earl  
 aquair, having got letters from the young-  
 hops, to the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 to court, and told him that there was no  
 to be apprehended ; only the old Bishops  
 timorous men, and feared where no cause  
 r was, assuring his Grace, that if the King  
 lay his commands upon him, he would  
 ke upon his life to carry thro' the busi-  
 ithout any noise. \* Upon which, Laud,  
 nking it proper that a work of this na-  
 ould be committed to a layman, procured  
 self a warrant from the King, to com-  
 the Bishops at all hazards to go forward

bbishop Laud, who had sufficient opportunity to know  
 's conduct in this affair, complains of him in his history,  
 here he tells us, that he himself had prevailed with the  
 get the abbey lands of Arbroath joined to the see of Bre-  
 But things, " he says," were so carried by the Earl of  
 air, the Lord Treasurer for Scotland, that the poor Bi-  
 of Brechin could never get that settled upon his see :  
 h was not the only thing in which that Lord played fast  
 ose with me."

in

LETTER XLVI. in it, "threatening them withal, that if they  
 "gered in it longer, the King would turn  
 "out of their places, and fill the same with  
 "gorous and resolute men, who would not  
 "afraid to do him service." This is the  
 as given us by Guthry, and from him by  
 lier and others. Yet, in the charge against  
 by the Covenanters at London, where they  
 nothing that could render him odious, and  
 particularly severe upon him for bullying and  
 ing his commands upon the Scottish Presb  
 there is not the least mention of this threat  
 order by Traquair, which, had it really been  
 represented, they would not have passed by  
 out making some use of it.

However, as Guthry goes on, the wise old  
 shops saw now that there was nothing left  
 but either to do or die, upon which they  
 away all fear and went to work: "And now,"  
 says, "it is remarkable that after this, they  
 "so far contrary to these rules of prudence  
 "policy, whereby they had been accustomed  
 "manage their affairs, that all men began  
 "spy a fatality in it." A strange and sudden  
 change indeed, from wisdom to folly, in a whole  
 body of men, on the receipt of a single letter.  
 But wherein lay this folly? Why, he says, "  
 "laboured not now to have their book brought  
 "in by ecclesiastical sanction, but having been  
 "authorised by an act of Council, they proceeded  
 "without more ado to urge the practice  
 "it: Whereby they provoked against themselves  
 "the most part even of these ministers that  
 "episcopal in their judgment, who thought  
 "a very sad matter that a liturgy should be  
 "posed on the church, without her knowledge."

“and consent, and judged it such a dangerous preparative, that the civil power might in after times introduce any thing, tho’ ever so hurtful to religion, and the church never get one voice in it.” But this does not appear to have been altogether a fair and candid stating of the case. The book had been seriously and deliberately composed and examined by churchmen, had been laid before and approved by the King, whose privilege of consent in these matters was not as yet discarded, and it had got his warrant to bring it into practice. What more was either in law or reason necessary? The King’s proclamation supposes a prior sanction from the church; such a sanction as all sound principles would have deemed competent in such matters; since, as Bishop Guthry and his men of Episcopal judgment might have known, not only all the Bishops of a province, but even every single Bishop in his own diocese had power to order a liturgy for his own church, provided he kept up to the Catholic creed, and did not depart from the analogy of faith, of which not his presbyters, but his brethren Bishops, were judges.—And what was that ecclesiastical sanction, which, it seems, it should have further got? Was every individual minister to be consulted, and his vote obtained, to ratify the decision of the King and the Bishops? If so, why not every individual of the laity be indulged the same authoritative privilege, from the great Earl of Rothes, down to the meanest cobbler in the kingdom? And when or how would this have ended?

Many other instances of misconduct have been found out in the prosecution of the business, such as fixing the first use of the book to be at

LETTER XLVI. Edinburgh, where there was the greatest probability, and would be the fittest opportunity of raising disturbance, and then deferring it from Easter-day, the day first proposed, to the 23d of July, which was said to be designedly done by Traquair, to give the party more time to confederate against it. But indeed it is easy for later critics to discover mistakes, and suspect places where originally there might have been neither error nor design. And therefore, to leave inquiry into causes, let us proceed to effects, which shall find to have been most lamentably fatal: wherever the fault shall be thought to have lain, if there must be a fault somewhere, whether in the rashness of the young Bishops, or imprudence of the old ones; in Traquair's double dealing, the violence of Rothes and his associates; for it was in fact, that the affair, whatever way it was managed, had a most unsuccessful and tragical issue.

A D. 1637. When the twenty third of July came, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with two or three more Bishops, the Lords of the Council and of Session, the Magistrates of the city, and a great auditory of all sorts of people being convened in the high church, no sooner had the Dean in surplice begun to read the prayers from the desk, but immediately a multitude of the meaner sort, most of them women, with clapping of hands, clamours and outcries, raised such a hideous noise, that not a word could be distinctly heard, and then a shower of stones and sticks was let fly at the Dean's head. The Bishop of the place, who was to preach that day, stepped into the pulpit with a view to appease the tumult, by putting them in mind of the sacredness of the place.

and their duty to God and the King. But this enraged them the more, and a Janet Geddes, who, like the wretch that burnt the temple of Ephesus, would never have had her name mentioned but for some villainous exploit of this kind, struck up the prologue to the subsequent tragedy, by throwing her folding-stool at the Bishop, to the great danger of his life. Upon this the Archbishop, as Chancellor, called upon the Provost and Magistrates to suppress the riot by their authority, which with great difficulty was done, by thrusting the most unruly out of the church, and shutting the doors: After which the Dean went on with the service, but was still disturbed by the mob without, who pelted the doors and windows with sticks and stones, crying, “A Pope, a Pope! Antichrist! Pull him down, stone him,” with all the signs of ungovernable fury. When the Bishops, at the conclusion of the worship, were going home, the rabble followed them with the most opprobrious language, and treated Bishop Lindsay so rudely, that had he not providentially got into a private house, after they had torn his habit, he had undoubtedly fallen a sacrifice to their curled rage. The same spirit appeared, tho’ not to such a violent degree, in the other churches of the city, where the ministers who read the book, which they all did except two, Ramsay and Rollock, were assaulted with the most bitter execrations against Bishops and Popery. \*

\* One of these two, Ramsay, was at the time one of the Bishop’s chapter, and Sub-dean of the chapel-royal, where by his office he had often both heard and read a liturgical service. And Rollock, the other, who was of the chapter too, had in his late synod-sermon before the Bishop, and in his sermon in the college kirk on the 16th of July, by way of intimation of the book, high-



LETTER XLVI. Hitherto no person of note or distinction was seen to countenance the opposition: It was the work of the rascally multitude, who had been well tutored and set on to it, and the malignant preachers from their pulpits extolled the act in it, "as the most heroic spirits that ever God inspired and raised up in this last age of the world, and as the happy mouths and hands which he had honoured with the beginning of such a blessed work." The Bishops, not knowing well how to proceed, dispatched an express to the King with a full account of all that had happened: And not thinking themselves secure in Edinburgh, where the Magistrates either were not willing or not able to protect them, they retired to their own dioceses, to the great strengthening of the adverse party. Yet the Archbishop of St. Andrews resolved to make a trial in his own diocese, and charged Mr. Alexander Henderson at Leuchars in Fife, who came afterwards to be the head of the party, to read the book under pain of legal prosecution. Against this charge Henderson applied to the Privy Council, and on the twenty third of August petitioned their Lordships for a suspension. The Council received the petition, and wrote to the King about it, wishing to know his mind again the twentieth of September, to which day the petitioners were referred for answer.

ly magnified and recommended it, and on the day of reading he carried it with him to the church with a design to read it as he had promised, till hearing of what was begun in the high church he chose rather to expose himself to the censure of God and sensible men, for his levity and breach of promise, than of the giddy multitude, whose favour was the only element in which such time-serving creatures wished to breathe.

Me

n time, the Edinburghers taking the late ~~LETTER~~ into consideration, began to fear the ef. XLVI. f the King's' resentment, in distressing their y his fleet; to prevent which, their four on the nineteenth of August wrote a fawn- ter to Archbishop Laud, with strong as- ions of their abhorring the late disorders; omising all due assistance to the reading book. But on the nineteenth of Septem- ere came to Edinburgh the Earls of Rothes, , Eglinton, Hume, Lothian and Weems, rds Lindsay, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, on and Lorn, with several burghers and rs from Fife and the West, who all on the r gave in a supplication to the council the service book; in framing of which ere principally assisted and directed by Sir s Hope, who, tho' he held the lucrative of King's advocate, was the grand oracle the consultations against him. Upon this e of strength the Edinburghers veered about, the twenty sixth of September the Baillies a second letter to Archbishop Laud, ex- their not being able to fulfill their former es, because of the unexpected change of peo- mpers, but still supplicating his Grace's in- on and good offices for the continuance : Majesty's favour. The same day they ed the council, that the book might not fied upon them till the King's pleasure be further known: And their acting in nanner made such an impresson on the boroughs, that all of them, except Aber- alone, came over to the cause, and strength- he hands of the opposition to a great de-

At

LETTER XLVI. At last the King's answer came, and on the seventeenth of October a proclamation was issued at the market cross, "commanding the service book to be practised in Edinburgh and the places adjacent, the Court of Session to remove from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and all the stranger supplicants to leave the city within twenty four hours, under pain of horning." This was like throwing oil upon the flame: For next day the rabble fell to work again, and assembled by hundreds in the High Street, where meeting with Bishop Sydserf of Galloway going to the council house about business, they would have torn him in pieces, if a gentleman who was with him, had not drawn him out of their hands, and got him with much ado into the house.—The Earl of Traquair, who had been his pupil coming to his relief, and forcing his way through the press, was soon in as bad a condition as the Bishop, the multitude and noise increasing with terrible imprecations, "God defend those that defend God's cause! God confound the service book, and all the maintainers of it!" The Provost and Magistrates were now called upon for their assistance: But they pretended to be as bad a plight themselves. For another party had beset the town-house where they were sitting, and threatened to burn them in it, if they would not sign a promise to join in opposing the service book, and to restore their two ministers, Ramsay and Rollock, who had been silenced for not reading it. The Treasurer, getting no protection from this quarter, ventured into the street again, but the mob were still so outrageous, that they barbarously pulled him down, took his hat, cloak, and walking staff from him, and so dragged him to the council house.

ouse. The Lords of the Council, finding themselves in such imminent danger, applied for safety to the disaffected nobility and gentry, by whom they were quietly conducted to the palace, and the Bishop got to his lodgings. LETTER XLVI.

While things were in this situation, Mr. Henderson, by advice of his two directors Hope and Calmerino, presented to the ministers, who notwithstanding the proclamation still remained in town, a proposal that, "whereas they had formerly petitioned only against the service-book, they might now tax the Bishops also, as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them." But to this many of the ministers would not agree, declaring, "that they came there only to be freed from the service book, and otherwise had no quarrel with the Bishops." Which being reported to the leaders, they sent to them Rothes and Loudon, who by long speeches mixed with threats and promises, revailed so much with these temporizers, that the charge against the Bishops (being prepared beforehand,) was instantly subscribed by them all, and formally delivered to the clerk of council; While copies were given them to be carried home to their several Presbyteries and parishes, to be subscribed by all ranks, and returned against the next council-day, which was to be the 15th of December.

In consequence of this extorted paper, the Lord Loudon, in name of the whole association, which now took the title of "Noblemen, Barons, Ministers, Burgeses and Commons," did on the 9th of December lay before the council, then sitting at Dalkeith, a long complaint about grievances, with a protestation, "that the Bishops hereafter should not be permitted to sit as judges,

LETTER XLVL “ judges, untill the cause was decided, both b  
 “ cause they were parties, and because by the  
 “ number they might easily preponderate in a  
 “ debate, as was the case in the act approv  
 “ the service-book :” And concluding in the  
 words : “ Our desires tend to no other end b  
 “ the preservation of the true religion, the la  
 “ ful liberties of the subject, and the Bisho  
 “ and Prelates delinquent taken order with, a  
 “ cording to justice : We crave neither th  
 “ blood, nor any harm to their persons, but th  
 “ the wrongs and abuses done by them may  
 “ truly remonstrated to his Majesty, that after d  
 “ trial, such order may be taken as may effect  
 “ ally restrain their exorbitant power for a  
 “ time to come.” In this federunt of coun  
 the Bishops had no friends who spoke open  
 for them, but the clerk-register Sir John Hay alor  
 and the result of all was, to send the treasurer  
 court with an account how matters stood, and  
 what a pass the administration was reduced.

All this time the combination was going c  
 and by the continued industry of the pulpit-o  
 tors of the faction, numbers of armed men, fr  
 almost all parts of the kingdom South of t  
 Grampians, were daily flocking to Edinburgh  
 serve their noble friends, and be at hand up  
 any emergency. Upon this sad prospect of  
 fairs, the treasurer was remanded back to Sc  
 land in February, and arriving on the 19th  
 Stirling, where the council had remained fir  
 December, he there published the King’s p  
 clamation, “ setting forth the piety of his inu  
 “ tions in the matter of the liturgy and Cano  
 “ and charging the opposers with having inc  
 “ red the penalties of law, but promising to p  
 “ d

don the error of a preposterous zeal, on con-  
 dition they retire themselves as dutiful subjects ;  
 and therefore interdicting all such concourse for  
 the future, and commanding all strangers to  
 quit the town of Stirling where the civil courts  
 were sitting, upon six hours notice, under pain  
 of treason :” concluding with this gentle de-  
 claration, “ that he would not shut his ears  
 against any petition upon that or any other  
 subject, provided the matter and form of it be  
 no way prejudicial to his royal authority.”  
 Against all this, the Earl of Hume and Lord  
 Lindsay, as had been pre-concerted, took instru-  
 ments in the hands of a publick notary, and  
 boldly insisted on their former demands against  
 the Bishops, and for redressing their pretended  
 grievances. By four o’clock in the afternoon the  
 rest of the noblemen had reached Stirling, and  
 before midnight the town was full of armed men  
 from all quarters, who among other instances of  
 brutality, threatened to butcher the good old  
 Archbishop Spotswood, but were kept back by  
 their more cautious masters. And now the party  
 broke out into open defiance, and being resolved  
 to go thro’ with their enterprize, in despite of the  
 government, they drove back to Edinburgh, where  
 after having consulted with Hope the advocate,  
 and some others of that profession, they set up a  
 counter-authority consisting of four *Tables* ; the no-  
 bility made one, the Barons another, the ministers  
 a third, and the Burgesses a fourth. These four  
 were to prepare and digest matters for the *Ge-  
 neral Table*, which was formed of a select num-  
 ber of commissioners from all the rest : And here  
 the ultimate and binding resolutions were taken.  
 The first production of this new and extraordi-  
 nary

LETTER  
XLVI.


LETTER nary tribunal was a *National Covenant*, wh  
 XLVI. they framed upon a model given them by  
 late King James in his minority, the occasion  
 which was this :

On the coming over of his favourite cot  
 Lenox from France, and his embracing the re  
 mation in Scotland, the clergy took the al  
 and gave it out that the Pope had granted disp  
 sations to this nobleman and many others, all  
 ing them to go what lengths of outward prof  
 on should be required of them, provided th  
 mind did not go along with their practice, l  
 continued inwardly firm and stedfast to the  
 cause. These dispensations, whether genuine  
 forged, being shewn to the King, he desired  
 own chaplain Mr. John Craig, to draw up  
 short confession of faith in a negative form, w  
 an abjuration of the Popish tenets, and a partic  
 lar clause to combat these ill-looking disper  
 tions. This was accordingly done, and the c  
 fession, thus framed to answer the exigencies  
 the times, was immediately ordered to be s  
 cribed by all persons of distinction ; and to  
 an example to the subjects, the King himself, t  
 only fourteen years of age, with the whole co  
 and council, publicly swore to it and subscri  
 it on the 2d of March 1581. Nine years a  
 this, when the Spanish Armada had frighten  
 the whole island, and the terrors of another  
 tempt of the same kind were strong on peop  
 minds, there was added at the end of this c  
 fession a " General Band for maintenance  
 " the true religion, and the King's person."  
 which, after having passed a suitable encomium  
 the King's religious disposition, the subscribers f  
 " We have therefore, in the presence of Almig  
 " G

“ God, and with his Majesty’s authorizing and LETTER  
 “ allowance, faithfully promised and solemnly XLVI.  
 “ sworn, likeas we hereby faithfully and solemnly ~  
 “ swear and promise, to take a true, effauld and  
 “ plain part with his Majesty amongst ourselves,  
 “ for averting the appearing danger threatened  
 “ to the said religion, and his Majesty’s state and  
 “ standing depending thereon, by whatsoever fo-  
 “ reign or intestine plots and preparations: And  
 “ to that effect faithfully and upon our truth and  
 “ honours, we bind and oblige us, &c.”

Such was the tenor of that *General Band* or *Covenant* drawn up in the reign of King James, not only with his concurrence, but designed for his honour and security, in language that would admit of no evasion. So it would not answer the purpose of our new association. For tho’ they adopted the negative confession from beginning to end without the least variation, that they might impose upon the people with that plausible sound, they took care to make out a new band, very different from the old one, in which after mentioning the “ danger of the true reformed  
 “ religion, of the King’s honour, and of the  
 “ public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold  
 “ innovations and evils generally contained and  
 “ particularly mentioned in their late supplica-  
 “ tions, complaints and protestations, they add,”  
 “ We do hereby profess, and before God, his  
 “ angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that  
 “ with our whole hearts we agree and resolve  
 “ all the days of our life constantly to adhere  
 “ unto, and to defend the said true religion,  
 “ forbearing the practice of all innovations al-  
 “ ready introduced in the matters of the worship  
 “ of God, or approbation of the corruptions of



LETTER XLVI.  " the public government of the kirk, or ci  
 " places and power of kirkmen, till they be  
 " ed and allowed in free assemblies and parl  
 " ments: To labour by all means lawful to  
 " cover the purity and liberty of the gospel,  
 " it was established and professed before the fo  
 " said innovations: And because after due  
 " amination we plainly perceive and undoubte  
 " believe, that these innovations and evils ha  
 " no warrant in the word of God, are contrary  
 " the articles of our confessions, to the intent  
 " and meaning of the blessed reformers of reli  
 " on in this land, and to the foresaid acts  
 " Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-c  
 " blishment of the Popish religion and tyrann  
 " and to the subversion and ruin of the true  
 " formed religion, and of our liberties, laws a  
 " estates: We therefore declare, that the fo  
 " said confessions are to be interpreted, and ou  
 " to be understood, of the foresaid innovati  
 " and evils, no less than if every one of the  
 " had been expressed in the foresaid confessions  
 " and that we are obliged to detest and abh  
 " them amongst other particular heads of Pap  
 " ry abjured therein: And therefore we prom  
 " and swear by the great name of the Lord  
 " God, to continue in the profession and obe  
 " ence of the foresaid religion, to defend the sa  
 " and resist all these contrary errors and corru  
 " tions, according to our vocation, and to t  
 " uttermost of that power that God has put in  
 " our hands, all the days of our lives:" A  
 " then, after engaging not to be divided or disun  
 " ed from one another, and making a solemn  
 " trade about private reformation, they conclu  
 " In Witness whereof, we have subscribed w  
 " our hands all the premises."

Thus was this famous *National Covenant* mould-  
 d into a proper shape, and with this mutinous  
 and "of mutual defence" sent abroad among  
 he deluded people, under the specious title of  
 The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scot-  
 land, subscribed at first by the King's Majes-  
 ty and his household in 1581, and again, by  
 all sorts of persons in 1590, with a General  
 Band, &c." And yet, notwithstanding of the  
 great stress laid upon King James having sub-  
 scribed this negative Confession, it is certain, that  
 when he was come to more knowledge in these  
 matters, and had got out of the trammels in  
 which his Scottish Kirk had long kept him, he  
 looked on this composition in another light, and  
 had no very high opinion of it. For in the  
 conference at Hampton-Court, in answer to a  
 proposal by the Dissenters, to have some more  
 negative propositions inserted into the English  
 Book of articles, he observes, that Mr. Craig's  
 expedient of this kind, with his disclaiming forms  
 of "abhorring, renouncing, and detesting," did  
 to amaze and overset the understandings of the  
 vulgar, that they either continued in their for-  
 mer ignorance, or relapsed into Popery. "And  
 for my part, " he says, " if I had been obliged  
 to run the whole length of this minister's  
 creed, I must have carried my faith in my  
 pocket book, for my head would not have  
 held it."

However, such as it was, being now sanctified  
 with the new name of a *Covenant*, as its inter-  
 preters called it, between God and the nation,  
 and directed to their own ends by their addi-  
 tional *Band*, it made its first public appearance  
 on the first of March 1638, in the Grey Friars  
 kirk

LETTER XLVI. kirk at Edinburgh, where, after being once re-  
over, accompanied with a flaming panegyric  
it by Lord Loudon, and a long prayer for su-  
cess to it by Mr. Henderson, it was eagerly sub-  
scribed by almost all who were present; and  
vast concourse there was, both in the kirk and  
kirk-yard. Thro' the rest of the country, es-  
pecially in the South and West, the minister  
commendation of it was all that the people  
sought before subscription. In the North indeed  
it did not meet with a very favourable re-  
sponse, at least for some time, which was thought  
to be owing to the influence of the town  
clergy of Aberdeen on the adjacent counties.  
To remove this obstacle, Mr. Henderson and  
David Dickson, minister at Irvine, were sent  
North by the *Tables* at Edinburgh, and re-  
quested to call to their assistance Mr. Andrew  
Cant, minister at Pitligo in Buchan, the only  
in these parts that favoured the cause. With them  
three came the Earl, afterwards the renowned Duke  
of Montrose, to strengthen the arguments  
of the divines by the terror of his presence  
and overawe such as would not be convinced.  
But neither the terror of Montrose, nor the au-  
thority of Henderson could get the better of  
Doctors of Aberdeen, who at that time were pre-  
eminent for learning, and highly respected in  
churches abroad. The dispute was drawn to  
considerable length, and replies and duplies  
were made on both sides. However, for what scholar-  
ship disputation could not effectuate, lawless Mi-  
nisters soon took a sweet revenge: For as soon as  
Covenanters, as we shall now call them, got  
a full hold of that power which they were aiming  
at, they persecuted these obstinate Doctors.

with such unrelenting fury, that to save their  
 es, they were forced to leave the country and  
 into voluntary exile. \* LETTER XLVI.

It is true, these "three Apostles of the Cove-  
 nt," as they were called, thus fortified by the  
 thority of so great a man as Montrose was  
 n then known to be, prevailed with numbers  
 the citizens of Aberdeen, and by their ex-  
 ple with sundry ministers and people in that  
 gbourhood, to subscribe their Covenant: And  
 attended with a multitude of profelytes, his  
 dship and his colleagues returned in triumph  
 Edinburgh about the beginning of June, to  
 : account of their commission, and see what

Of these the most conspicuous were the two professors of  
 sity, Dr. Robert Baron in the Marischal, and Dr. John  
 bes, in the King's College. Dr. Baron, who made the prin-  
 l figure in the debate, was obliged to fly to Berwick, where  
 was nominated by the King to the See of Orkney, vacant by  
 hop Graham's apostacy, but died before consecration. Dr.  
 bes was son to Bishop Forbes of Corke, and retired to Hol-  
 l, where he published his *Instructiones Historico theologicæ*, a  
 k of vast compass and great erudition: When he was pro-  
 r, he purchased a house in Old Aberdeen, and disposed it  
 be use of his successors in office in all time coming, but in  
 disposition had forgot to secure his own liferent: On which  
 covenanters, when they declared his place vacant, took  
 of this omission, and basely turned the man out of the house  
 ich he had bought with his own money: And not satisfied  
 b harassing him in life, they would not allow his dead body  
 e buried beside his father in Bishop Dunbar's isle, tho' he had  
 ously desired it, and his friends asked it as a particular fa-  
 r. Besides these two, they expelled likewise the two Prin-  
 ls, Dr. William Leslie of King's college and Dr. Patrick  
 a of the Marischal, Dr. Alexander Scrogie minister in the  
 l Town, Drs. Alexander Ross and James Sibbald in the  
 w town, John Forbes parson of Auchterless, Andrew Logy  
 son of Rayne, John Ross parson of Birse, John Gregory  
 bur of Drumoak, John Logy rector of Rathen, and Thomas  
 ous minister of Udney.

further

**LETTER XLVI.** further was to be done. The Bishops all the while were sadly perplexed, and truly in a pitiable condition, not knowing how to act, or whom to trust. The old Primate Spotwood, being in Edinburgh when the Covenant was first signed, lamented "that all that they had been doing the thirty years was now thrown down at once, and suspecting danger to his person from the madness of the bigotted mob, took a mournful leave of his native country, and withdrew for refuge to Newcastle, where he resigned the office of Chancellor, and had from the King a ample and honourable acknowledgement of his fidelity and good services. The rest of the Bishops took the best care of themselves that they could, and gave intimation from time to time to the Primate how things were going on, and what tumultuous steps were taken, to abuse and distress the non-subscribing clergy throughout the kingdom.

Mean time, the King, alarmed at these rebellious proceedings, sent the Marquis of Hamilton, another nobleman of a suspicious character, as his High Commissioner, with full powers to settle all these disturbances; and this, it is said, he did contrary to the advice of some honest men, who recommended the Marquis of Huntly to that important station. On the tenth of June, the new commissioner came to Dalkeith, and after some days stay there, to the palace at Holyroodhouse. There the heads of the Covenanters condescended to wait on him, and being asked, "What they would expect to hear in the King's name for the redress of grievances, and what he might expect from them as to renouncing the Covenant, and returning to their obedience?"

To the first they replied, "that nothing but a **LETTER**  
 "General Assembly and a Parliament would give **XLVI.**  
 "them satisfaction," and to the other their an-  
 "swer was, "that they had never departed from  
 "their obedience, nor failed in any part of loy-  
 "alty; and as for the Covenant, they would as  
 "soon renounce their baptism, as abate one word  
 "or syllable of it, accounting it more useful  
 "and available than all the laws that had been  
 "enacted since the time of Fergus their first  
 "King," boldly telling his Grace, with insolence  
 "enough, "that it was a proposal, which, tho'  
 "they had now heard, they were resolved never  
 "to hear a second time." Their next step was  
 to place guards on the Castle of Edinburgh, and  
 to issue a prohibition against reading the English  
 service in the King's own chapel, on the very  
 first Sunday of the Commissioner's being there,  
 with this unchristian menace, "that whosoever  
 "should read it, should never read more; and  
 "that there were a thousand men provided to  
 "prevent it." All which outrages, the Com-  
 missioner either overlooked, or durst not resent.

Yet, to soften them, if possible, he recalled the  
 Court of Session to Edinburgh, at the pressing  
 desire of the citizens, on the 2d of July: But  
 this did not content them, unless he would re-  
 move Sir Robert Spotswood the President, and  
 Sir John Hay the Register, because of their  
 aversion to the Covenant, and attachment to  
 Episcopacy; which was such an extravagant de-  
 mand, as his Grace neither would nor could yield  
 to. So on the 4th of July he caused to be pub-  
 lished at the market cross, his Majesty's proclama-  
 tion, declaring "his resolution to maintain the  
 "true Protestant religion, and that he never  
 "intended

LETTER “intended to press the Canons and service-book  
 XLVI. “but in such a legal way as might be agree-  
 “able to all his loving subjects, and therefor  
 “warning them all to beware of disobedience.  
 This was immediately attacked by a protest-  
 tion, and instruments taken in presence of man-  
 thousands, by the Earl of Cassilis, and read by  
 Johnston of Warristoun, in name of all who ad-  
 hered to the Covenant. Of all this the Marquis  
 gave intelligence to the King, and himself on the  
 19th took a journey to court for further instru-  
 tions, where he and some other counsellors ad-  
 vised the King to renew the old Confession of  
 Faith, ratified in 1567, to call a General As-  
 sembly, and to discharge the Canons, service-  
 book, and High Commission. On the 8th of  
 August he returned, and in a meeting with the  
 Covenanters, proposed to them some preparatory  
 articles, as the condition of his granting the  
 demands of an assembly and parliament. The  
 articles, as first proposed, were ten in number,  
 which being rejected by the other party, as quite  
 destructive of their scheme, he very condescend-  
 ingly contracted into two, “That no laicks should  
 “have voices in choosing the ministers to be  
 “sent from the several presbyteries to the as-  
 “sembly, nor none else but the ministers of the  
 “same presbytery; and that the assembly should  
 “not go about to determine of things estab-  
 “lished by acts of Parliament, otherwise than by  
 “remonstrance or petition to the Parliament  
 “leaving the determining of things ecclesiastical  
 “to the assembly, and things settled by act of  
 “Parliament to the Parliament.” But these be-  
 ing still disagreeable to their views, they threat-  
 ened to proceed to business, and it was with  
 difficulty

difficulty that he got them prevailed upon to wait till he should consult the King a second time, and obtain his final determination. LETTER XLVI.

The result of this delay was still unsatisfactory. For when his Grace, at his return on the 17th of September, produced the original *Confession* of King James in 1581, with the genuine *Band* in 1590, which made a part of the title of their own Covenant, they gave out to the people, "that what the Marquis brought tended to the subversion of their liberties and religion, that a new Covenant was set on foot to destroy theirs, and that if they did not resist manfully now, all was lost." However, the Commissioner and Privy Council did proclaim and subscribe that old *Confession*, and gave orders for a general subscription of it throughout the kingdom. This done, they next on the 22d of September, publicly at the cross, discharged the Canons, service-book, High Commission, and Articles of Perth, and summoned a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow on the 21st of November next, and a Parliament at Edinburgh on the 15th of May following. It was now hoped that all malecontents would have been satisfied, as this was granting them all that they had hitherto sought. But the leaders, whom the rest durst not contradict, instead of acquiescing, went boldly to the cross with a protestation against the proclamation, as being faulty in some particulars, and not full and explicit enough in others, that is to say, not to their taste in any. And here again the protestation was read by Warriston, and instruments taken now by the Earl of Montrose and the delegates from the other Tables, "in name of all who adhered to

S f 2

" the



LETTER XLVI. "the Covenant." And on the Sunday following, all the pulpits in Edinburgh resounded with virulent invectives and declamations against the King's declaration, and subscription of the old Confession, branding it with no milder epithet than the "depth and policy of the Devil," while their prayers begged of God "to scatter them in Jacob, and divide them in Israel, who had been the authors of that scattering and divisive counsel." Yet, wherever the declaration was published, before the Covenanter Edinburgh had time by their emissaries to poison people with their venom against it, it was received with all expressions of joy and thank acknowledgment: And at Glasgow in particular it met with such a cordial reception, that Provost and town-council wrote a letter, and ministers and masters of the College another to the Commissioner, full of thanks, and pressing the highest satisfaction in his Majesty's clemency and fatherly care of his people.

But these good dispositions did not long continue. For the assembly being now summoned the *Tables* at Edinburgh were busy preparing matters against the day of meeting, and employing all their wits to have the assembly constituted to their mind. They saw that the far greater part of the ministers inclined to peace, and were ready to rest quietly under his Majesty's late concessions. All pains therefore were to be taken to exclude such moderate men, and to have no members sent to the assembly, but such as they knew would go all lengths. To this purpose orders were issued from the *Tables*, that every particular parish should send to their presbytery a layman, under the title of a Ruling Elder, &c.

as, if possible, to be a Nobleman or great Ba-  
 son, to have equal vote with the ministers, in  
 choosing the delegate from that presbytery.—  
 This step was at first strongly opposed by the  
 ministers, even Covenanters as well as others,  
 as having been in desuetude among them for  
 forty years, and likely to bring the clergy under  
 as great subjection to these lay-elders as ever they  
 had been to the Bishops. But in favour of the  
 scheme, it was represented, that by this means  
 there would be a fair prospect of having the de-  
 cisions of the assembly ratified in the ensuing  
 Parliament, where these lay-elders, if Noblemen,  
 had a seat by birth-right, and if of the gentry,  
 had a chance of being elected, and consequent-  
 ly might sway the Parliament as they pleased.  
 The necessity of unity too was urged, and the ob-  
 ligations they were under by their Covenant, not  
 to break out, or divide from one another at this  
 critical juncture. And where neither of these  
 fallacious arguments could induce the ministers  
 to yield to what they thought such an unconsti-  
 tutional encroachment, these lay-elders, according  
 to instructions from the *Tables*, forced them-  
 selves into the presbyteries, and gave their votes,  
 as they were directed from Edinburgh, whether  
 the ministers would or not, so that in most pres-  
 byteries, the laity chose the members of the as-  
 sembly, and thereby got a considerable majority  
 to be of the fiercest and most rigid kind.

Every method likewise was thought of to re-  
 commend their own Covenant, and to cry down  
 the one which the Commissioner and Privy-coun-  
 cil had lately subscribed : And among other stra-  
 tagems to effect this, they took hold of a poor  
 hysterical girl, of the name of Mitchelson, who  
 in

**LETTER XLVI.** in her vapourish fits used to blab out, with a wonderful appearance of godly zeal, the reproaches and bitter invectives which she had so frequently heard from the pulpits, against the Bishops and the service-book. To this sickly creature there was an incredible concourse of all ranks and characters in Edinburgh, who stayed by her day and night, watching her motions, and admiring her raptures and extasies as so many inspirations from heaven. And to such a pitch of blasphemy was this farce carried, that, when in one of her canting speeches the spectators desired Rollock the minister, who was always at her elbow, to pray with her and speak to her, he told them, "that he durst not do it, as it would be bad manners in him to speak to her while his master was speaking in her." Her current theme was in praise of the Covenant, about a Covenanted Gospel and a Covenanting Jesus, and that it was revealed to her from God, that their Covenant was approved and ratified in heaven, and would be protected by God the author of it against all opposition, but that the King's Covenant was an invention of Satan, and it and all its adherents would in end be confounded and brought to nothing. Such pitiful shifts, even to the imitation of Romish forgeries, will men fly to, in support of a cause, which they are determined to maintain at all hazards.

But the principal object of the party's care was how to get the Bishops kept out from having a seat in the assembly, where, for so many years past, the ecclesiastical constitution had given them the chief place. The Commissioner's proclamation had "warned all and sundry Archbishops, Bishops, Commissioners of Kirks, and

" others having place and vote in the assembly, LETTER  
 " to repair and address to the city of Glasgow, XLVI.  
 " on the 21st day of November next to come, ~  
 " and to attend the Assembly during the time  
 " thereof, and ay and while the same be dissolv-  
 " ed, and to do and perform all which to their  
 " charges in such cases appertaineth, as they  
 " will answer to the contrary at their highest  
 " peril." This, tho' usual form, gave great of-  
 fence; and the fear was, lest if the Bishops  
 should take their seats, the strength of their rea-  
 sonings and weight of their characters might sway  
 the assembly, and much disturb, if not entirely  
 defeat, the designs that were in hand. To guard  
 against this danger, the *Tables* addressed the Com-  
 missioner for his warrant, to cite the Bishops be-  
 fore the assembly as pannels, and thereby cut off  
 their right of either judgment or suffrage; which  
 impertinent demand his Grace peremptorily re-  
 fused, as being without his commission, and con-  
 trary both to law and reason.

Finding themselves frustrated in their hopes  
 from this expedient, they next drew up a most  
 false, odious, and scandalous libel against the Bi-  
 shops in general: In which the great point of  
 accusation, is their violating the acts of the gene-  
 ral assembly at Montrose in 1600, and exercising  
 the office and authority of Bishops otherwise than  
 according to the cautions and restrictions laid  
 down at that time; but no notice taken of that  
 assembly's being exauctorated by following assem-  
 blies, especially by the assembly of Glasgow in  
 1610, which invested the Bishops with all the  
 powers of office they had exercised from that  
 time: And then, by way of epilogue, they sum  
 up all with this personal charge, " Besides all  
 " these

LETTER “ these faults, the said Mr. David Lindsay,  
 XLVI. “ tended Bishop of Edinburgh, with his  
 “ leagues respectively, in his life and con-  
 “ tion is slandered constantly as guilty of  
 “ five drinking, whoring, playing at cards  
 “ dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive  
 “ ing, profaning of the Sabbath, contem-  
 “ the public ordinances and private family-  
 “ cises, mocking of the power of preac-  
 “ prayer, spiritual conference and sincere  
 “ fessors, besides bribery, simony, selling of  
 “ missary’s places, lies, perjuries, dishonest  
 “ ings in civil bargains, abusing of the v  
 “ adulteries, incests, with many other offence  
 “ which we shall give the particulars in ou  
 “ ticular accusations.”

This infamous paper, thus framed and pr  
 ed, was put into the hands of a junto of t  
 noblemen, thirty three barons, five minister  
 six burgeses, not chosen to be members  
 sembly, and therefore competent to be acc  
 with directions to lay it before the Presbyte  
 Edinburgh, as a libel and petition for justice.  
 cordingly these tools of the cabal did upo  
 24th day of October present it to that Pre  
 ry: and the same day the Presbytery  
 formal sentence, as had been concerted, ‘  
 “ and do refer the same to the next gene  
 “ sembly to be holden at Glasgow the 21  
 “ November. And we ordain the publishin  
 “ this complaint and our reference, to be  
 “ read by all the pastors of the Presbytery  
 “ the next Sabbath before noon out of their  
 “ pits, with a public warning and citation to  
 “ offenders complained on,” naming all the  
 shops as in the libel, “ to be present at the  
 “ asse

“ assembly, to answer to the said complaint in general, and to all the particular heads of it: XLVL  
 “ and to undergo the trial and censure of it: ~~~~~  
 “ And requiring all parties who have interest  
 “ either in pursuing, specifying, or proving the  
 “ above complaint, to be present at the assembly  
 “ for that purpose.” In obedience to this tyrannical ordinance of a judicatory no way competent to such a high stretch of authority, the whole was read from all the pulpits in Edinburgh on the next Sunday, and that too with such a zealous punctuality that in the College kirk, where Rollock preached, it being a communion day, and afternoon before the people had all received, the ordinary thanksgivings after the communion, and the usual prayer and reading of the scripture before the afternoon sermon, were all omitted, to make room for this more important piece of service.

Thus all things being as properly adjusted as human wit could devise, to admit sure friends, and keep out open or suspected enemies, at last on the 1st of November 1638, this renowned assembly sat down, a motley convention of Presbyters and laymen, of which last there were seven Earls, ten Lords, forty Gentlemen, and fifty one Burgesses. The first day, after the usual formalities, the royal commission was read, and the commissioner made a speech, exhorting them to a peaceable and moderate carriage, and touching a little at former disorders. On this day a lay-elder, the Earl of Rothes, sharply answered “ that they had given his Grace content for all their proceedings,” which his Grace objected to, and took God to witness, “ that he had never yet received satisfaction from them in any part of their procedure.” The next day, when they

LETTER XLVI. were all met, a paper was presented to the Commissioner by Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister of Glasford, procurator for the Bishops, protesting against this assembly, and *declining* the authority and judgment of it for the following reasons. 1. Because the *Tables* at Edinburgh have ordered the members to be chosen before the assembly was indicted, which was against law. 2. Because the assembly consists of numbers of laymen, who are allowed a decisive vote no less than the clergy, whereas such persons are legally disabled, and many of them otherwise unqualified to act in such a sphere. 3. Because many even of those who pretend to be ministers, have disqualified themselves from being members of a regularly constituted assembly, by their neglecting to take the oaths required by law, and by their seditious behaviour against his Majesty's authority, and their mutinous adhering to their covenant of mutual defence against all persons whatever. 4. Because the Presbyteries, by setting aside the moderators appointed by the Bishops, have broken the acts of the assembly of 1610, and of the Parliament of 1612, and thereby forfeited their privilege of election. 5. Because the lay-elders from every parish, by their influence and numbers above the ministers, have overawed the canonical elections, and thus the representatives of the clergy are, contrary to all order and practice, chosen by the laity. 6. Because most of the members of this meeting are schismatical and perjured persons, by departing from their sworn obedience to their several ordinaries, and many of them are either under the actual censures of the church of Scotland or Ireland, or deserve to be so, for many scandalous irregularities, which stand condemned by the general assembly.

neral assemblies of this church: Besides sundry **LETTER**  
 personal blemishes which they could charge them **XLVI.**  
 with, but in charity forbear to mention. 7. Be-  
 cause the most of the members of this pretended  
 assembly have already declared themselves against  
 Episcopacy, and so being professed enemies, can-  
 not be adequate judges, which was the main rea-  
 son, and a very just one too, why the reformers  
 protested against the council of Trent. 8. Be-  
 cause of the rudeness and falsehoods of the scur-  
 rilous lybel from the Presbytery of Edinburgh,  
 and the injury done to the episcopal character, in  
 denying the Bishops the privilege of presiding in  
 ecclesiastical assemblies, confirmed to them by so  
 many repeated acts of both church and state.—  
 9. Because of the manifest contradiction to reason  
 and primitive practice that Bishops should be judg-  
 ed by Presbyters, and which carries the absurdity  
 further, by a mixed company of Presbyters and  
 lay-men, since by all the canons of the ancient  
 church, Bishops are to be tried by none beneath  
 their own order. 10. At the same time they are  
 content to wave this ancient privilege, and to  
 submit to modern constitution, declaring that  
 for any charge relating to life or doctrine they  
 are willing to abide by the trial of a general as-  
 sembly lawfully constituted, or of his Majesty's  
 high commissioner: Concluding all in these terms,  
 “ We embrace and hold that the religion pre-  
 “ sently professed in the church of Scotland, ac-  
 “ cording to the confession thereof, received by  
 “ the estates of this kingdom, and ratified in  
 “ Parliament in 1567, is the true religion bring-  
 “ ing men to eternal salvation, and do detest all  
 “ contrary error. And we protest in the sight  
 “ of God, to whom we must one day give ac-  
 T t 2 “ count



LETTER XLVI. “ count, that we make use of this *Declination*  
 “ and protestation, out of the conscience of our  
 “ duty to God and his church, and not out of  
 “ fear of any guiltiness whereof any of us is con-  
 “ scious to himself, either of wickedness in our  
 “ lives, or miscarriage in our callings: Humbly  
 “ intreating his Grace to intercede with the  
 “ King’s Majesty, that he may appoint a free and  
 “ lawful general assembly, such as God’s word  
 “ the practice of the primitive church, and laws  
 “ of this kingdom do prescribe and allow, with  
 “ all convenient speed: But *declining* always the  
 “ assembly, for the causes above written, like  
 “ by these presents, We and every one of us  
 “ *decline* the same, the whole members thereof  
 “ and commissioners foresaid directed thereto, as  
 “ every one of them. In witness whereof, as we  
 “ are ready with our blood, so with our hands  
 “ we have subscribed these presents at Holyrood  
 “ house, Newcastle and Glasgow, the 16th, 17th  
 “ and 20th days of November 1638: Signed  
 “ John St. Andrews, Patrick Glasgow, David  
 “ Edinburgh, Thomas Galloway, John Rollock  
 “ Walter Brechin.”

This paper being in form put into the commissioner’s hands, he desired that it might be read and recorded, but was told, that could not be done till a moderator was chosen: So they proceeded to that business, and, as had been ordered at Edinburgh, the choice fell without dissenting voice, on Mr Henderson, and Johnston Warilton was named clerk, in opposition to Mr James Sandilands, commissary of Aberdeen, who had been appointed clerk to the assembly for last year. The two or three next sederunts were taken up examining controverted elections, rejecting the suspected

suspected members, and either evading or throw-  
 ing out sundry protestations from several presby-  
 teries, even one from the presbytery of Glasgow  
 itself, against the irregularity of the lay-elders  
 votes in elections. They likewise appointed a com-  
 mittee of eight ministers to inspect four large vo-  
 lumes of acts of assemblies, which Wariston pre-  
 tended to have discovered, and upon the commit-  
 tee's approbation, which was given in two days  
 time, the assembly confirmed them by an act,  
 ordaining these books to make faith in judgment  
 and outwith, in all time coming, as the true  
 and authentick registers of the kirk of Scot-  
 land."

At last, after a great deal of wrangling be-  
 tween the Commissioner and them, they carry-  
 ing every thing with a high hand, and his Grace  
 protesting against their violent measures, they  
 were prevailed with to give the Bishops *Declina-*  
*tor* a hearing, and it was publicly read by their  
 clerk on the 27th. The reading of this paper,  
 which was the only point of importance the  
 Commissioner had hitherto gained, raised great  
 heats among them; the majority, especially of  
 the lay-elders, ridiculing it with much contempt,  
 and a few defending the force and solidity of  
 it, till in end the moderator shut up the de-  
 bate with this magisterial declaration; "Since  
 " we see both the competency and constitution  
 " of this judicatory and assembly is thus openly  
 " impugned, it is high time to clear this point,  
 " of which none can be judge but the assembly  
 " itself; and therefore I will presently put it to  
 " voices, Whether this assembly be the lawful  
 " and competent judge of the libel against the  
 " Bishops, notwithstanding the reasons contained  
 " in

LETTER

XLVI.

LETTER  
XLVI.Guthry's  
Memoirs.


“ in their *Declinator* ?” The Commissioner, n plainly seeing what they were driving at, : that they were unalterably resolved to over the ecclesiastical constitution established by l which he had positive orders to prevent tl meddling with, he made a pathetic speech them, against the illegality and manifest injus of their proceedings, and upon the morrow, the advice of the Privy-council, then sitting Glasgow, did, in his Majesty’s name and au rity, dissolve this assembly, and discharge tl further sitting, under pain of treason. Aga this dissolution, which they had all along b looking for, and even making necessary, a j testation, ready formed, was read, and im ments taken by their trusty friend the Earl Rothes, “ declaring for the freedom of u “ terrupted sitting, and that for his Majesty “ countermand, was to prejudge the preroga “ of Jesus Christ, and the liberties of the kir

Being now freed from the incumbrance royal authority, and from any appearance, : or dissembled, in favour of Episcopacy, tl drove on for twenty days longer without : controul, till they had gone through all tl affairs, and were pleased to dissolve themsel in which time they had passed seventy five pital acts, besides lesser ones, which their cl did not think worth the while to put into tl register. The main things transacted were the All the assemblies, since that at Aberdeen 1605, were declared void ; the service-book, book of Canons, the book of Ordination, High Commission, and the five articles of Pe were all annulled and condemned : And Covenant which they had now taken, was  
thoritati

thoritatively declared to be substantially one and **LETTER**  
 the same with that which had been allowed by **XLVI.**  
 King James in 1581, in which, they now af-  
 firm, Episcopacy was abjured.\* Having gone  
 thus far, they proceeded next, in opposition to  
 many standing acts of both Assembly and Parlia-  
 ment, to condemn Episcopacy as Antichristian,  
 and to depose and excommunicate the Bishops  
 for refusing to submit to them: And it was or-  
 dained, that the sentence should be pronounced  
 in the High Church of Glasgow, by the Moderator,  
 on the 13th of December, which was done ac-  
 cordingly. A copy of this sentence follows:

\* Yet it is well known, that at the first introduction of this new  
 covenant, great pains were taken by its authors, to make the na-  
 tion believe that they might very well swear it without prejudice to  
 episcopacy. To the Marquis of Hamilton himself they oft protest-  
 ed that their meaning was only to regulate, not to abolish epis-  
 copal government: In the famous dispute with the doctors of  
 Aberdeen, when they refused it for fear of any plots in it, or  
 sinister interpretations of it against episcopacy, these are Hen-  
 derson's very words, in answer to the 4th reply of the Aberdeen-  
 clergy, "You will have all the covenanters, against their inten-  
 tions, and whether they will or not, to disallow and condemn  
 the articles of Perth and episcopal government: But it is  
 known to many hundreds, that the words were purposely con-  
 ceived for satisfaction of such as were of your judgment, that  
 we might all join in one heart and one covenant." And  
 now, for this very man, from his usurped chair of infallibility, to  
 condemn Episcopacy, and notwithstanding of his insinuations  
 to the contrary only a few months before, to declare with such  
 brazen effrontery, "that it was abjured in the covenant," what-  
 ever it may say for Mr. Henderson's talents in conducting such  
 business, is so flagrant a reflexion on his honesty as cannot well be  
 removed even by that strange tenet which they have invented, in  
 a defence of their proceedings, published by Wariston in February  
 last year, "That the swearer is neither bound to the meaning  
 of the prescriber of the oath, nor to his own meaning who  
 takes the oath, but to the reality of the thing sworn, as it shall  
 be afterwards interpreted by the competent judge."

"The

LETTER XLVI.  The General Assembly, having heard and complaints given in against the pretended Bishops, to the presbyter burgh, and sundry presbyteries within diocies, and by the said presbyteries to this assembly to be tried; The pretended Bishops being lawfully cited, called, and not compearing; Proceeded to cognition of the libels and complaints against them, and finding them guilty of the cautions agreed upon in the act at Montrose in 1600, for restricting ministers votes in Parliament, from exercising upon the liberties and jurisdiction of the kirk, which was set down with certain deposition, infamy, and excommunication especially for receiving consecration of Episcopacy, condemned by the sentence of Faith and acts of this kirk, without warrant nor fundament in the word of God, and by virtue of this usurped power of High Commission, to alter the kirk with novations in the worship, and for their refusing to underwrite the reigning slander of sundry transgressions and offences laid to them. THEREFORE the Assembly, moved to preserve the glory of God, and purging of the kirk, ordains the said pretended Bishops to be deposed, and by these presents doth deprive them not only of the office of Communion, but vote in Parliament, council, or conference in the name of the kirk, but also of all further of pretended Episcopal, or ministerialling: And likewise, in case they appear not this Assembly, reverence not

" tutions thereof, and obey not their sentence, LETTER  
 " nor make repentance according to the order XLVL  
 " prescribed, ordains them to be excommunicat  
 " ed, and declared to be of those whom Christ  
 " commandeth to be holden by all and every  
 " one of the faithful as ethnicks and publicans :  
 " And the sentence of excommunication to be  
 " pronounced upon their refusal, in the kirks  
 " appointed, by any of those who are particular-  
 " ly named to have the charge of their repen-  
 " tance or impenitency ; and that the execution  
 " of this sentence be intimate in all the kirks  
 " within this realm, by the pastors of every  
 " particular congregation, as they will be answer-  
 " able to their presbyteries and synods, and in  
 " case of their negligence, to the next General  
 " Assembly."

In this presumptuous sentence we have a strik-  
 ing instance of their double dealing and artful  
 procedure : For, tho' the Edinburgh libel had  
 specified a black list of heinous immoralities,  
 which not only deserved spiritual censure, but  
 some of them even death by the civil law, the  
 Assembly here huddles all up, under the gene-  
 ral term of gross transgressions and offences,  
 and founds its judgment upon the alledged cri-  
 minality of office, without particularizing any vi-  
 ciousness of personal character, or neglect of mi-  
 nisterial duty in the execution of that office.—  
 And this method of smothering an accusation,  
 which, if openly tried and proved, would have  
 had more weight with the sensible part of the  
 nation than any other part of the charge against  
 them, is certainly a fuller vindication of the in-  
 nocence and blameless behaviour of those persec-  
 cuted Prelates, than any laboured defence that

LETTER XLVI. could have been made for them. But this was not the only instance of arrogance, as well as artifice which this Assembly exhibited. For on the morrow after the proclamation for dissolving them, they had the boldness, publicly at the market cross, to "summon and cite all those of his Majesty's council, or any others who had procured, consented, subscribed, or ratified this proclamation, to be responsible to his Majesty and three Estates of Parliament, for the counsel given in this matter so highly importing his Majesty and whole realm, protesting for remedy of law, against them and every one of them." And to crown all, before the rose, which was not till the 20th of December, they very confidently ordered a letter to be drawn up and sent to the King, for obtaining his royal assent to what they had done, as if slighting his proclamations, and obstinately continuing their judicatory against his will, formerly notified to them by his Commissioner, they had done nothing but what became good and dutiful subjects.

To this letter an answer was received on the 29th of January 1639, bearing, "that for the better settling the affairs of Scotland, the King would be at York against the first of April, and would call his Scotch council there for advice." But the Covenanters, not trusting to this, and pretending to have got intelligence from their friends in England, that the King was to come upon them with a military retinue, they called a general meeting of their party to be held at Edinburgh upon the 20th of February, for resolving upon a defensive war. This was no sooner proposed in the convention, and enforced by

by Henderson's influence, than they immediately agreed to the raising of an army, and voted their countryman General Alexander Leslie, whom they had lately called home, from the Swedish service in Germany, to have the chief command of it. Next day they seized on the Castle of Edinburgh, and two days after, on the King's palace at Dalkeith, with a large store of powder and arms, which Traquair had brought from London. But while they were thus busied in the South, a report came from the North, that the people of Aberdeen were fortifying their town, and the Marquis of Huntly drawing men together for the King. Upon this, the Earl of Montrose was dispatched with orders to levy troops by the way, to suppress that rising: Which he very soon effected, and so far prevailed over Huntly, that he carried him and his son the Lord Gordon, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were confined in the Castle.

Mean time, accounts of all these hostile preparations being sent to court, it was advised in council at London, that a fleet should sail immediately to chastise the Edinburghers, by distressing their trade, and that the King himself should follow in person with an army, to suppress the rebellion. Accordingly, on the 27th of March he began his journey northward, attended by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, and in a few days came to York, where was to be the general rendezvous of the army. At the same time a fleet of twenty large ships was equipped, and about the middle of May arrived in the road of Leith, under the Marquis of Hamilton, Commander in Chief, with three thousand soldiers on board, for land service. On hearing of this, the Lord Aboyn, second son to



LETTER the Marquis of Huntly, took the field with tl  
 XLVI. Gordons, and other loyalists in the North, an  
 wrote to Hamilton, soliciting a junction of the  
 troops, which the Marquis who, it seems, h  
 views of ending the contest without blows, c  
 not think fit to grant. However, Aboyn we  
 on with his design, and was as far advanced  
 the Bridge of Dee, with two thousand foot a  
 three hundred horse, where he was encountere  
 and after a sharp engagement of some hours, e  
 tively defeated by Montrose, who had been ag  
 detached with a command of double Aboyn  
 number, to quell these Northern attempts in t  
 King's favour. \* I am, &c.

\* It is but too obvious that this early and vigorous app  
 rance of Montrose in defence of the covenant, put more life  
 to the rebellious cause, and did more prejudice to the Kin  
 affairs, than all his activity and many wonderful victories  
 terwards, could or did retrieve. And it is therefore to be  
 mented, not so much for his own character, since it is no sha  
 to go over to a right cause at any time, as for the good of t  
 King and nation, that this magnanimous and justly celebra  
 nobleman, whose memory will be ever dear to all true heart  
 Scotsmen, had not begun his days with the same princip  
 with which he ended them: In which case, his King and cou  
 try would have found an able supporter, and the world have se  
 a complete portrait of virtue, and true heroism, without any b  
 mish thro' the whole piece.

## L E T T E R      X L V I I .

*Proceedings of the Covenanters—Account of the ejected Bishops—And of the Treaty with the Scots at Rippon—Rise of the Independents—Meeting of the Long Parliament in England—The King holds a Parliament in Scotland, and makes every Concession to the Covenanters—Rebellion in Ireland—The King passes the Bill for disqualifying the English Clergy—The House of Commons vote down the Bishops—A Commission appointed by the Scotch Assembly, to correspond with their English Friends—This mutual Friendship produces the Solemn League and Covenant—Approved by the Assembly in Scotland—And by the Synod of Divines at Westminster—Violently enforced in both Kingdoms.*

**T**HE Covenanters having now got all things ready, began their march to the borders, and by the way sent flattering addresses to the King,

LETTER King, "lamenting that their enemies had per-  
 XLVII. "suaded his Majesty to believe them disobedient,  
 "ent, which could never have entered into their  
 "loyal hearts, and protesting, that they desired  
 "nothing but to be admitted to the presence of  
 "their gracious Sovereign, to lay their grievances  
 "vances at his feet, and leave the determination  
 "tion of them entirely to his wisdom and pleasure."  
 "sure." Tho' the King was pleased with these  
 specious appearances of submission, yet finding  
 them increasing their preparations, he judged it  
 necessary to draw nearer to them, and so came  
 to a field near the Tweed, called the Birks, two  
 miles west from Berwick, where he encamped and  
 lodged in a tent with his army. By this time  
 General Leslie had brought his forces to Dunfermline  
 about seven miles distant, where they pitched on  
 the 20th of May. In this position both armies  
 lay till the 11th of June, when the Scots having  
 discovered the pacific disposition of the English  
 Generals, sent a supplication to the King for  
 treaty, which he readily granted. And after  
 few days debate, the Commissioners on both sides  
 came to this conclusion on the 18th, "That his  
 "Majesty should confirm whatever his High-Com-  
 "missioner had last year granted in his name  
 "and that henceforth all ecclesiastical matters  
 "should be determined by the Assemblies of the  
 "kirk, and all matters civil by the Parliament,  
 "to which end a General Assembly should be  
 "held on the 6th of August, where his Majesty  
 "ty designed to be in person, and a parliament  
 "upon the 20th, in which an act of oblivion  
 "should pass, for the common peace and satis-  
 "faction of all parties. In return for which,  
 "the Covenanters were to disband their troops  
 "in

forty eight hours, to discharge their tables LETTER XLVII.  
 and meetings, to render up the King's castles, and to make restitution to all his good subjects of the liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatever, taken and detained from them since the first of November: On which the King was to recal his fleet, and withdraw his aid forces."

Such was the nature of this first pacification, which, however favourable to the covenanters, was not received by them as might have been expected. For no sooner was it proclaimed in their ears, but the Lord Lindsay protested, "that neither the Bishops nor any of their clergy, were or should be included in this pacification, entitled to the benefits of it." And tho'

on their return home, they gave up the castle of Edinburgh to General Ruthven for the King, which Huntly and his son got their liberty, on the first of July they published a protestation at the market-cross by the Earl of Dalhousie, that they would maintain the late assembly at Glasgow as most lawful, free and general, and would adhere to their solemn covenant with God, whereby the office of Bishops who yet usurp the title is declared to have been abjured:

And that therefore, if they return to this kingdom, they be used as accursed and given over to the devil and out of Christ's body, as heretics and publicans, and that all who harbour them shall be prosecuted to excommunication likewise." At the same time they issued a scandalous paper, under the title of "some conditions of his Majesty's treaty with his subjects in Scotland before the English nobility," relying upon the King's integrity, as having in his

**LETTER XLVII.** his private discourse expressed himself better pleased with their proceedings than what was given out in his public declaration: Which paper being complained of, and disavowed by the English commissioners, was burnt at London by the hand of the public executioner; tho' the covenant in their usual equivocating way, attempted a sorry kind of vindication of it.

On these insolent breaches of the agreement while the King was in the North, he thought proper to call up fourteen of the heads of party to his court at Berwick, to consult with them about his coming to hold the Assembly and Parliament in person. But matters were so managed that the persons whom he had called were not to believe that it was not safe for them to stay lest they should be made prisoners, and a messenger was sent to apologize for their not obeying his Majesty's call. This fresh instance of rudeness so provoked the King, that he left Berwick in disgust, and on the 29th of July set off for London, having before his departure constituted the Earl of Traquair his high commissioner, an office which the Marquis of Hamilton now wisely declined. According to Traquair's instructions, positive orders were given him, not to yield to any ratification of the late Assembly, nor to enter into any dispute about the King's power in calling or voting in assemblies. To take care that in giving way to the abolition of Episcopacy, if it be found necessary, no respect be had to the determination of the point in the last Assembly, nor any conclusion formed to the prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful in itself, but only in satisfaction to the people, for settling the present disorders, and other reasons of state: to take some proper method for recovering the

ships rents to be paid to them, or any having warrant from them: And in a paper of further instructions, the King says, " We allow that the covenant of 1581 be subscribed, provided it be so conceived, as that thereby our subjects be not forced to abjure Episcopacy as a point of Popery, or contrary to God's law, or to the Protestant religion, but if they require it to be abjured as contrary to the constitution of the church of Scotland, you are to give way to it, rather than make a breach: And for the service book and the book of canons, tho' we are content they be discharged, we will never give our voice nor assent that they be condemned, as entertaining any thing of Popery or superstition, nor that the five articles of Perth, tho' discharged with our approbation, be condemned as contrary to the foresaid confession."

ETTER  
XLVI.

See Records  
Collier

All this time the Bishops were not in a capacity to do much either for their own or the King's interest. They wrote however to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to offer their humble advice to his Majesty to prorogue the assembly and Parliament. In answer to which, the King writes with his own hand to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to be communicated to his brethren, " approving their advice as reasonable enough, but not finding it expedient to follow it at this time: Telling them what directions he had given to Traquair, to take care of their Lordships and the loyal clergy: Dispensing from their meeting to treat about the affairs of the church, as in any part in Scotland he cannot promise them a place of safety, and in any other of his dominions he does not think it convenient, all things considered, and assuring

LETTER XLVII. " them that, tho' perhaps he may for the  
 " sent give way to what may seem prejud  
 " both to the church and to his own governm  
 " he shall not leave thinking how in time to  
 " medy both: In the mean time exprefsly  
 " hibiting any of them from being present at  
 " ensuing Assembly, but advising them to  
 " main in England till further order, where  
 " promises to provide for their subsiste  
 " tho' not in that measure as he could wish,  
 " in such a way as they should not be in wa  
 By this we may see how the King's incl  
 tions stood, and to what difficulties he wa  
 ready reduced, in struggling between his  
 inward sentiments and the exigences of state.

At last, the Assembly sat down on the  
 of August, and Mr. David Dickson was ch  
 Moderator, with Mr. Henderson, as the  
 brother, at his elbow, by way of co-adjuto  
 And here so little weight had his Majesty's  
 structions, owing either to Traquair's infin  
 ty, or his want of power, that all that had  
 done at Glasgow was now confirmed; Ep  
 pacy utterly extirpated, the Service-book, Can  
 and Articles of Perth abolished, and their  
 Covenant ratified, and ordained to be sworn  
 and subscribed by all the subjects in the k  
 dom. As a pattern to others, Traquair  
 scribed it himself, with a particular form of  
 difying explication as his Majesty's Commisfic  
 a favour allowed to no other subject, and w  
 he declared he did not pretend to as Ear  
 Traquair. And thus having finished the bus  
 for which they had met, they rose on the  
 in triumph. The next day the Parliament  
 vened, and as had been concerted, ratifie

the acts of the Assembly, the Commissioner assenting to their proceedings, till at last they encroached so far on the rights of the crown, that he was obliged to prorogue them to the month of June next year. We are told by Bishop Burnet, that the King was highly displeased with Traquair for subscribing the Covenant, and that all the excuse he could make was, that without such a compliance he could have had no assistance from the Covenanters, in any thing else that related to the King's service. But what service it was that either he or they did the King, we are yet to learn, unless derogating from his prerogative, and encroaching on his property, may be called doing him a service.

LETTER  
XLVII.Mem. of  
the Dukes  
of Hamilton.

Before we proceed farther to trace the violent progress of the Covenanted kirk, let us see what became of the suffering Bishops, thus insulted and thrown down by a set of revolting sons.—The old Primate Spotswood did not long survive this repeated shock: For he died on the 27th of December following, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in Westminster-abbey, near the body of his beloved Sovereign King James. The other Archbishop, Lindsay of Glasgow, tho' a popular preacher, and a man of acknowledged moderation, had no better treatment than his brethren, but was forced to take sanctuary in England, and died at Newcastle in two or three years after. Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh died in England too, in the time of the following troubles, tho' we are not told where. So did Bishop Ballenden of Aberdeen, Whitford of Brechin, Wedderburn of Dunblain, Abernethy of Caithness, and Campbell of the Isles, all of them in exile, and within a few years. Bi-



**LETTER XLVII.** shop Maxwell of Ross, against whom, it is said, Traquair had a personal grudge, was one of five whom the Covenanters retained in the damned list of incendiaries, and always excepted out of every act of oblivion or indemnity: the King preferred him to the bishoprick of Limerick in Ireland, where he was again a sufferer from the Irish Papists in the time of their rebellion, and with great difficulty got out of their hands to Dublin. After this he waited on the King at Oxford, who was so well pleased with the distinct account of the posture of religious affairs in Ireland, that on the Archbishoprick of Tuam falling void, he was nominated to it by the King in 1645, and took possession of it soon after. But hearing of the King's misfortunes in England, he was so affected with the melancholy in which that on the 14th of February 1647, he was found dead upon his knees in his closet, and was, by the care of the Marquis of Ormond the King's deputy, interred in Christ's church in Dublin. Bishop Sydserf of Galloway survived the trouble, and saw both church and state resettled. \* L

\* In the time of the confusions we find him exercising Episcopal office in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown the French ambassador at Paris, by ordaining priests, and amongst the laborious Mr. John Durel, a native of the island of Jersey, who with his ordination from a Bishop whom the Scotch Presbyterians had excommunicated, officiated in some of the respectable Protestant churches in France, and was still a stout assertor of both the Hierarchy and Liturgy. This dilucidates his "View of the reformed churches beyond the seas," in which he says that the French churches made a consistorial act not taking any regard to the Scotch excommunications of those days, without a particular specification of a sufficient cause, which they would not admit Episcopacy to be: And he quotes a letter written by the well known Frederick Spanheim, one of the ministers sent by the Emperor to the Irish primate Usher, to the English Earl of Pembroke.

Dunkeld, Graham of Orkney, and Fairly <sup>LETTER</sup> gyle, submitted to the Assembly's censure, <sup>XLVII.</sup> and their Episcopal character, and accepted ocial charges, neither respected nor much notice of by either side. But Bishop John y of Moray bravely stood the brunt of all nalice, and tho' he was fined, plundered, risoned, still maintained the validity and of his order, till at last, being old, and tely to give the prevailing cause much e, he was suffered to die in quiet in his ouse of Guthry in Angus.

Two young Scotch noblemen, Lord Angus and Lord i, with all whom he had been acquainted when in Bri n which, speaking in name of his church, Spanheim has ords, "With singular affection to all the Briish hes, we reverence and love their illustrious Prelates, ve pray to God for the prosperity of these kingdoms, and them that sit at the helm, as well in the church as in ommonwealth, that God may ever have his glory, the his just right, and the Prelates of your churches their uthority." This letter, Mr. Durel says, was written in 1638, and printed at Geneva: The date is observable, rs us that, at the very time when the Scotch Presbyte- ho glory in Geneva as their mother-church and standard ation, were scheming against their Prelates both in per- office, that mother-church was reverencing and praying : Prelates in both respects. To this let me add another ho' some years later, from the same quarter, by the pen er Genevan minister, the learned John Diodati, to the y of divines at Westminster in 1647, the whole strain is in praise of the church of England, sadly lamenting tural tumults which were then rending that once beau- l pure church, "that fair eye of the reformed churches, e the needy had been in use to find assistance, and the ed a refuge to fly to, &c." This famous letter in the Latin is preserved entire at the end of Archbishop Usher's Parr, and is quoted in favour of Episcopacy not only by . Durel, but likewise by our countryman Dr. George, in his "third part of the case of the Episcopal clergy," many others.

Thus

LETTER XLVII. The Bishops thus disposed of, and the office abolished by both Assembly and Parliament, the next business which the new kirk of the Covenant set about, was to purge the Universities and mould them to their own taste. In Edinburgh they had not much to do, as Adamson the Principal was violent on their side, and they had got their champion, Henderson, transported from Leuchars, to be one of the Ministers in the town. To Glasgow they brought Dickson their late Moderator from Irvine, to be Professor of Divinity, which, from the pragmatical spirit and fiery zeal of the man, was thought sufficient to keep all right there. At St. Andrews they placed the famous Mr. Samuel Rutherford in the Professor's chair in the Divinity College, and to strengthen his hands they expelled the two Episcopal Ministers, Gladstones and Wishart, and filled their rooms with Mr. Robert Blair, who many years before, being extruded from the College of Glasgow, where he was one of the Professors, for instilling seditious and anti-monarchical principles into the students, had taken sanctuary among the malecontents in Ireland, on the present prospects he returned, and valiantly thrust himself into the pulpit in the town of Ayr. And as for Aberdeen, till they could find a new set of masters to their mind, it was agreed to remove Mr. Andrew Cant from Edinburgh, to be one of the Ministers there, which was accordingly done, and sufficiently answered their purpose.

Some time after the prorogation of the Parliament, against which the Covenanters had protested by their friends, Rothes and Warrieston, a letter to the King of France, was by some means

or other intercepted, and being produced LETTER  
t them, threw them into confusion. This XLVII.  
was acknowledged to have been written  
rd Loudon's own hand, and was addressed  
Roi, To the King," which is the French  
rom the subjects to their natural Prince,  
eching his Majesty as the refuge and sanc-  
y of afflicted Princes and States, to give  
lit and faith to the bearer Mr. Colvil,  
um they had sent to represent the candour  
ingenuity of their proceedings, and to im-  
e the assistance of his wonted clemency.  
ned, your Majesty's most humble, most obe-  
it, and most affectionate servants, Rothés,  
ntrose, Leslie, Mar, Montgomery, Loudon,  
rester." To reconcile such an application  
'opish Prince, with their repeated professions  
olemn appeals to heaven, against every the  
appearance of Popery, must be left to the  
try of these Covenanted Protestants. But it  
he treasonable part of the application that  
id hold of, and on this just ground the Lord  
on, as writer of it, was on the 11th of  
sent to the Tower of London; yet, after  
r three months confinement, was, at the  
is of Hamilton's solicitation, dismissed with-  
urther censure, and allowed to return home  
amph.

as a new breach was begun between the  
and the Covenanters, and both sides pre-  
for war. The Scots seem to have been  
busy, and were first ready: For on the 10th  
arch, in a convention at Edinburgh, they  
ed to raise a new army, and on the 16th A.D. 1640.  
ril old Leslie was again named Commander  
ief, with proper officers, among whom Mon-  
trose

LETTER trose was one, to serve under him. And  
 XLVII. ward were the people to rise, at the daily  
 ~~~~~ gation of their thundering preachers, that  
 the middle of July the whole levies were
 pleted, and all the regiments on the 27th br
 together at the appointed rendezvous, wh
 was unanimously resolved to march into Eng
 having first sent before them a declaration, v
 in " they obtest the all-seeing God, that th
 " tend not the least diminution of the I
 " honour and greatness, nor any prejudice o
 " to England, but only to seek their own pe
 On the other side, the King, after dissolv
 English Parliament, which would give hi
 assistance on the present emergency, made
 to collect a sufficient army, and with all e
 tion marched to meet the Scots invaders,
 by the time he reached York, were adv
 to the very borders. On the 21st of A
 they entered England, and a few days a
 detached party of them routed a body o
 King's horse, that had been sent under the
 Conway, to dispute the passage of the Ty
 Upon the 30th, being Sunday, their whole
 took possession of the town of Newcastle, w
 after sermon in the High-church by Mr.
 derson, the General and principal officers
 sumptuously feasted by the Mayor. From
 place they sent a supplication to the Ki
 York, or rather a peremptory demand, "
 " the acts of their two last Assemblies shou
 " ratified : That no oath or subscription,
 " trary to their national oath and Cove
 " should be required of their countryme
 " England or Ireland : That the common
 " cendiaries between the King and them

“ be duly punished : That a proper compensa-
 “ tion be made them of all their losses : And
 “ that the Parliament of England may meet
 “ as soon as possible, as the only means to
 “ settle peace, and stop the further advancing of
 “ their army.” These demands the King referred
 to his great Council of Peers, assembled at York,
 by whose advice he agreed to nominate Com-
 missioners, to treat with them, and accordingly
 sent fifteen of the English nobility, most of
 whom were in concert with the Scots, and soon
 declared themselves the King’s bitterest enemies.

From the Scots army came the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermlin, the Lord Loudon, and six others of inferior rank, among whom were Wariston and Henderson. On the first of October they all met at Rippon, about sixteen miles from York, where Loudon, who was always the mouth of the party, made a long speech, declaring their affection to the kingdom and people of England, whose liberties and privileges they regarded as they did their own: That therefore this present attempt of the Scots to defend themselves, may prove a benefit to the English, by affording them such a fair opportunity of vindicating their liberties and laws from the evil designs of a few wicked men, who had too great influence on his Majesty’s councils, and ought to be removed from his presence.” This artful speech, very suitable to the plots that were in agitation, had the intended effect : For on the 16th it was concluded on both sides, that there should be a cessation of arms for two months, that the treaty should be adjourned from Rippon to London, to be prosecuted there in the time of Parliament,

LETTER XLVII. and that till all differences should be fully and nally settled, the Scotch army should remain where they were, and have maintenance till the day they crossed the Tweed, which was to be levied out of the three northern counties of England, and, as the English historians say, exacted with great rigour and oppression. Thus was the King decoyed into a second fatal fall, and the Covenanters once more carried to the point.

About this time, however, they were beginning to split into factions among themselves, which tho' cunningly kept down for some time, broke out at last into an open rupture, and contributed, more than all the royal edicts, to humiliate the pride and power of Presbytery. When episcopacy was thrust out of Scotland, there came down from England a taylor and a furrer, and from Ireland a swarm of Scotch fugitives, mostly lay-men of low life, who all meeting in the western counties, got a number of the common people there to comply with their new mode of seeking edification, by private conventional religious exercise, and were countenanced in their pretensions to superior godliness by Dick Blair, Rutherford, and other great patrons of the Covenant. This was thought to favour much of the Brownistical, or Independent schism, which had been formed in England in Queen Elizabeth's time, on a plan of this kind, by Robert Brown, in opposition to Cartwright and the other Puritans of the common Presbytery stamp, and which, in a few years after this, rose to such a height in England, as to prevail against Prelacy and Presbytery both. The greater part of the Covenanters were alarmed at this first appearance

pearance of such a divisive and dangerous spirit breaking out among them. But by the mediation of some prudent friends, and the skilful management of their Primate Henderson, the flame was smothered at this time, and a conclusion mutually gone into, "that whatever had been the effects of these private meetings in times of trouble and corruption, when many things may be commendable, which otherwise would not be tolerable, yet, now when God had blessed them with peace, and with the purity of the Gospel, such meetings should be forborn, as tending in end to the renting of the whole kirk, besides other offences, to the hardening of the hearts of natural men, and to the great grief of the godly." And in a General Assembly, which they held at Aberdeen in July this year, without any commission from the King, an act was made, discharging these conventicles or private meetings in all time coming. Yet they still gained ground insensibly, even in the city of Edinburgh itself, and the high affectation of particular piety and devotion in their adherents, met with such a favourable reception in most places, that the subsequent Assemblies would not meddle openly to condemn them, but agreed to deal warily and tenderly with them, "for fear of giving offence to their friends the good people of England, who favoured those ways."

On the 3d of November 1640, the Parliament of England met, that long Parliament which proved so cruel to the nation, and so fatal to the King. They fully granted all the demands of the Scots at Rippon, with the addition of a gift of three hundred thousand pounds, "as a friendly assistance and relief, thought fit to

LETTER XLVII. "be made toward the losses and necessities of *our Brethren* of Scotland." The Scots Commissioners now at London, as a proof of their gratitude, presented an accusation against the King's two favourites, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Their long charge against the Archbishop was given in on the 14th of December, and the next day they added a codicil to it, not only against the persons of the then Bishops of England, but even against the office of the prelatical hierarchy, as they call it, in general, concluding with their earnest request, "that not only the firebrands may be removed, but likewise the fire itself provided against, that there may be no more combustion afterward."

On the 18th the Archbishop was impeached of treason by the Commons, and ordered into the custody of the Black Rod, from whence he was sent prisoner to the Tower, and lay there four years before he was brought to his trial. But the Earl of Strafford had quicker measures dealt to him. On the 11th of November he was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords and sent to the Tower on the 25th: On the 22d of March next year his trial began, and continued till the end of April, when, after long debates the Commons drew up a bill of attainder against him, which was at last agreed to by the Lords, and with much reluctance signed by the King: And so, upon the 12th of May 1649, this accomplished Nobleman and faithful servant of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill, to the astonishment of all honest men, and to the irreparable

comparable detriment of the King's affairs ever LETTER
cr. * XLVII.

Notwithstanding the disgusting behaviour of Scots Commissioners, the King agreed to hold parliament some time this summer in Scotland, his own person, and desired them to notify his resolution to their constituents, that proper preparations might be made for his reception. Accordingly on the 14th of August he came to Edinburgh, attended by the Prince James his nephew, by the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and a small train of the English nobility. On the nineteenth the Parliament sat down, and the King made every concession which could be desired; that in case he should be forced to come to a rupture with the English, which he had too just ground to fear, he might leave no room for their expecting any support from Scotland. With this he gave way to the ratification of the Assembly in 1639, which condemned Episcopacy contrary to the word of God, tho' he still maintained that his reason for dispensing with it in Scotland was, not from his own judgment about it, but merely to comply with the opposition which he then saw prevailing against it. He could not however so easily comply with the

This woful compliance of his Majesty, which he always declared was against his conscience, and into which he was over-persuaded by the time-serving casuistry of some eminent divines whom he consulted, lay heavy at his heart to his dying day, and needs rather either criticism or censure, than what his own pathetic representations have passed upon it. It has been observed too, that with the same penful of ink with which he signed Lord Strafford's death, he signed the bill for the two houses of Parliament to sit during their own pleasure, and thereby in one moment to throw away the two greatest supports of his crown and dignity.

article

LETTER XLVII. article of the incendiaries, as it was called, which if admitted in its original extent, would have posed a very great number of his true and faithful subjects to the rage and fury of their enemies. Against this iniquitous procedure the King argued long, and with great force, from every principle of prudence, honour, and conscience. But such was the inveterate malice of the Covenanters, who were the majority in Parliament that they would by no argument be prevailed with to pass from five of their *black list*, the Lord of Traquair, Bishop Maxwell of Ross, Sir Robert Spotswood, the late Archbishop's son, and Father confident of the Session, Sir John Hay the clerk Register, and Dr. Balcanqual, who drew up the King's large declaration in 1639, all of whom they pretended their national oath obliged them to pursue, and bring them to condign punishment: And altho' they agreed, that after legal trial, the censure of these supposed delinquents should be remitted to his Majesty, yet it was with this restriction, that he should not employ any of them in his service, without consent of Parliament.

Besides this, they likewise extorted from him the three following important concessions; that Parliament should meet once in three years, without any summons from the King, if he should neglect to publish any in that time; that the Privy-council and all the officers of State should not be appointed but by consent of Parliament and that the Parliament when sitting, or in interval, the Privy-council, should be conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms. To these disagreeable articles the King assented, and was even graciously pleased to confer offices, and

f honour on the leaders of the Covenanted **LETTER**
 At last, on the 17th of November the **XLVII.**
 ment rose, having finished their business, fo
 in appearance to universal satisfaction, that
 said, "a contented King was to depart
 a contented people," and the next morn-
 ly, his Majesty began his journey to Lon-

ut this time the Irish Papists took the op-
 ty of the religious confusions in Britain,
 n a powerful confederacy, and while they
 izing the King's castles and magazines, they
 at the same time publishing declarations of
 yalty of their hearts and uprightness of
 intentions, and like the covenanters in Scot-
 king God to witness that they designed
 e least diminution of his Majesty's great-
 out only to seek their own peace. Among
 t sufferers from this new confederacy, were
 shops and established clergy of the Protef-
 rsuasion, whose houses were plundered, their
 carried off or destroyed, their persons abus-
 h all manner of outrage, and many of them

e Earl of Argyle was made a Marquis, Lord Loudon
 London and chancellor, Lord Lindsay Earl of Lindsay
 of the Lords of the treasury, General Leslie Earl of
 nd keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Ge-
 ivingston Earl of Calendar, the Laird of Arbuthnot,
 their most zealous ruling-elders, Viscount Arbuthnot,
 of Wariston was knighted and made a Lord of Session;
 nderston got the rents of the Royal chapel, esteemed
 a sufficient morsel for a Bishop; Gillespie, another of
 ncipal demagogues, had a large pension settled on him;
 professors in the universities had their provisions liberally
 ed out of the Bishops revenues; and to humour the
 eir clergy, a commission was appointed to sit in January
 nlarge their stipends, and bring them up to a compe-

barbarously

LETTER barbarously put to death. In a word, whatever
 XLVII. the Episcopal clergy suffered from the prevalency
 ~~~~~ of covenanted godliness in Scotland, their brethren met with the same from the fury of Catholic zeal in Ireland. And this persecution continued, till on the King's return to London and laying the matter before his Parliament there, an army of Scots was raised upon English pay, and transported under the Earl of Leven, for the defence of the Protestant cause in Ireland. This army put a stop to the Popish attempts for while: But being called back in a short time to assist against the King in Britain, the Irish insurgents renewed their depredations, and continued to keep their country, for several years, in a most miserable state of anarchy and disorder.\*

The English Parliament having at the instigation of the Scots destroyed the Earl of Strafford, and locked up the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower, their next attempt was upon the liturgy, and against the Deans and Chapters. At the same time they presented a petition against the Bishops having vote in Parliament; and because twelve of the Prelates then in town, finding themselves insulted by the mob in coming to the House to take their seats, had the courage to protest in a legal way for the preservation of their privileges, they were voted to the Tower on the 30th of December, and lay there till May next year, when they were liberated without a trial. Mean time the disqualifying bill against the clergy

\* After the murder of the King, the victorious parliament, having now nothing to fear at home, sent over Cromwell with a numerous and well disciplined army, who in a few campaigns put an end to the Irish insurrection, but with as much barbarity and bloodshed, as had been committed on the other side.

was pushed on with great keenness, and at last LETTER having passed in the house of Lords, was on the XLVII. 14th of February 1642 assented to and signed Collier, vol. ii. p. 820. by the King. We are told that no persuasion would have induced him to it, if the Queen, whom he tenderly loved, and who was made to believe that her personal safety depended on the success of that bill, had not by repeated importunity prevailed with him to sign it at Canterbury, whither he had accompanied her, on her way to Holland with her eldest daughter the Princess Mary, who had been lately married to the Prince of Orange.

Yet even this did not satisfy the faction : For on the 1st of September the House of Commons voted down the Bishops altogether, which, as a matter of triumph, was solemnized with bonfires and ringing of bells. And having thus, as far as they could, set aside the antient and settled government of the church, they proceeded to pass an ordinance on the 12th of June 1643, that a synod of divines, not chosen by the clergy, but named by the two houses, should meet on the first of July, and continue during pleasure of Parliament, for the improvement of religion, and reformation of every thing amiss either in the worship or polity of the church. To such lengths of arrogance did this seditious Parliament stretch that exorbitance of power which the King had put into their hands, when he parted with his inherent prerogative of dissolving them, and thereby checking their licentious career. All this time, the Scottish malecontents were not idle. The Irish business had given them a handle for sending up a fresh troop of commissioners to London to transact the bargain for the army with the

LETTER XLVII. English Parliament, which was the avowed errand, and at the same time to be ready with their advice there, and their intelligence here, whenever it might be useful to the common cause. The persons pitched upon for this purpose were, of the nobility, the Earls of Lothian and Lindsay and the Lord Balmerino, and of the gentry the newly-knighted Wariston with five more, all violent for the covenant, and well capable to manage any plot entrusted to them. From these commissioners the party at home had due notification of all that passed in England, and were taught to regulate their procedure accordingly.

Thus, when the General Assembly sat down at St. Andrews in July 1642, and the Earl of Dunfermlin the commissioner had presented the King's letter, "craving no more, in recompence for his favours, but that the ministers would by their doctrine and example labour to keep his subjects in their duty," the Assembly at first resolved to return his Majesty a letter of thanks with a sincere promise of obedience to his commands. But the next day, having got account from London what appearance there was of thorough reformation in England, and that the Parliament there had begun to exert themselves with vigour against Episcopacy and all that belonged to it, the Assembly changed their resolution, and forgetting their obligations of both duty and gratitude to the King, agreed to express their concurrence with these measures, and their earnest wishes for the prosecution of them. It was likewise moved and carried in this Assembly that a *Commission* of certain of their number should be chosen to sit monthly at Edinburgh, for corresponding with the friends in England, in furtherance thereof.

*thering the Good Work*; and this is the original of that peculiar sort of judicatory, which has been kept up to this day, and in the intervals of Assembly manages all their ecclesiastical concerns. By this means preparations were made for the first favourable opportunity of declaring themselves openly in support of their scheme of reformation, in which all the King's concessions, large and extensive as they were, had not given them entire satisfaction. With this view, and to proceed in as legal a way, as the nature of their design would admit, they had sent the chancellor Loudon to solicit the King for a Parliament, which his Majesty absolutely refused, as the three years agreed upon in the last Parliament were not yet expired. And therefore, to remove this obstruction, by the advice of Sir Thomas Hope, who, tho' King's Advocate, was the constant director in every measure against him, it was resolved to call a convention of the estates to meet at Edinburgh on the 22d of June 1643, and the lately erected commission of Assembly appointed a solemn fast to be kept throughout the kingdom on Sunday the 11th of June, and on the Wednesday following, for a blessing on the meeting, and good success to its determinations.

The King having laboured in vain to prevent a rupture with his Parliament at Westminster, and finding the insolence of the factious mob daily increasing, saw it necessary at last to retire from London, and to provide, by all the means which God and the laws had put in his power, for the honour of his crown and the security of his person. To this purpose he had on the 22d of August 1642, set up his standard at Nottingham, and on the 23d of October he attacked and de-



**AFTER** feated the Earl of Essex, the Parliament's Gene  
**XLVII.** ral, at Edgehill in Warwickshire. This first vic  
 ~~~~~~ tory was followed by a train of successes in mo  
 parts of England, especially in the West, wher
 the Loyalists were much superior to the rebels
 and it is generally believed that, if he had march
 ed straight to London, after taking the city o
 Bristol in July next year, his adversaries wou
 have met him in the most suppliant manner, an
 submitted to his mercy. But instead of this, h
 was led by treacherous counsel to besiege Glou
 cester, and by this fatal delay the Parliament ha
 leisure to look about them, and fall upon man
 ways to recruit their strength, which then was r
 duced very low. Among other means of relie
 they thought proper to apply to their trust
 friends in Scotland, with this sweetening assuranc
 to draw them in, "that now they were in earne
 " to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, an
 " to introduce what should be found most agre
 " able to the word of God."

The motley synod of Westminster, appointe
 and named by the two Houses, had accordin
A.D. 1643 to direction met on the 1st of July this yea
 consisting of six Earls, four Lords, sixteen othe
 lay-members of Parliament, and a hundred an
 eighteen preachers, mostly Presbyterians, with son
 Independents, and a few Episcopalians in tl
 nomination, none of whom, except Dr. Feat
 alone, ever attended, and to each of these d
 vices was allowed the sum of four shillings
 day for maintenance, with a parliamentary sec
 rity against the penalties of non-residence. Th
 General Assembly of Scotland sat down likewi
 on the 2d of August, where Sir Thomas Ho
 appeared as King's Commissioner, and Mr. He
 deric

derfon was again chosen Moderator: To this Af-
 sembly the English Parliament sent four Com-
 missioners, and the Westminster fynod two Mi-
 nisters, Nye, an Independent, lately come over
 from New-England, and the famous Stephen
 Marshal, who had last year absolved five hund-
 red soldiers, taken prisoners by the King at
 Brentford, from their oaths not to carry arms
 against him any more, and ordered them back
 to their former service. When these six Com-
 missioners produced their letters in the Assembly,
 the Moderator made a long discourse upon the
 subject of them, and then asked the brethren in
 general, what answer should be returned to them.
 Upon which, one of the members, afterwards
 Bishop of Dunkeld, observed, "that these letters
 "were clear and particular concerning the pri-
 "vative part of extirpating Episcopacy; but as
 "to the positive part, what they meant to bring
 "in, they huddled it up in ambiguous and ge-
 "neral terms, so that whether it would be Pres-
 "bytery or Independency, or any thing else,
 "no man could know: Therefore, so long as
 "they stood there, and would come no further,
 "he saw not how this church, which holdeth
 "Presbytery to be of divine right, could take
 "them by the hand: For which reason he
 "wished that, before further proceeding, the
 "Assembly would deal with the English Com-
 "missioners, to obtain from their constituents
 "as explicit a declaration, what they were to
 "introduce, as they had done in what was to
 "be removed." Tho' this was certainly a sen-
 sible and pertinent motion, it was neither se-
 conded nor relished by any in the Assembly,
 and the mover himself was ill looked upon for his

LETTER
 XLVII.
 ~~~~~

Guthrie's  
 Memoirs.

LETTER his pains. So the management of the busin  
 XLVII. was committed to the Moderator and a sel  
 junto of the leaders, Dickson, Blair, Cant, F  
 therford, &c. with the assistance of the Marg  
 of Argyle, the Earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, I  
 linton, Lindsay, and Loudon, the Lords Bal  
 rino, Burleigh, Arbuthnot, and others, un  
 the specious title of Ruling Elders, who havi  
 treated several days with the English Comm  
 sioners, resolved in the end upon a mutual leag  
 and religious Covenant, to be sworn and subscr  
 ed by both nations. Accordingly, a paper bei  
 framed upon a preconcerted draught, was broug  
 into the Assembly on the 17th of August, a  
 twice read over: And tho' another of the me  
 bers, Mr. Brisbane at Erskine, desired, "that  
 "fore men were urged to vote about it, leif  
 "might be given them for some few days,  
 "have their scruples removed," yet, without a  
 regard to such a necessary caution in a matter  
 such moment, the question was immediately p  
 "Approve, or not:" And the roll being call  
 it was by a plurality of voices carried, "A  
 "prove." This is that famous *Solemn Leag  
 and Covenant*, which made such a noise at  
 time, and tho' now forgotten by the Presby  
 rian establishment, is still the darling creed  
 an increasing party in our country to this da  
 For which reason, and as it has such a co  
 nection with church affairs, I have set it do  
*verbatim*, as follows:

' We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlem  
 ' Citizens, Burgesles, Ministers of the Gosp  
 ' and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms  
 ' Scotland, England, and Ireland, by the p  
 ' vidence of God living under one King, a  
 ' bei

' being of one reformed religion, having before LETTER  
 ' our eyes the glory of God, and the advance- XLVII.  
 ' ment of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour  
 ' Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the  
 ' King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true  
 ' public liberty, safety, and peace of the king-  
 ' doms, wherein every one's private condition is  
 ' included: And calling to mind the treacher-  
 ' ous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and  
 ' practices of the enemies of God, against the  
 ' true religion and professors thereof in all places,  
 ' especially in these three kingdoms, ever since  
 ' the reformation of religion, and how much  
 ' their rage, power, and presumption are of late  
 ' and at this time increased and exercised, where-  
 ' of the deplorable state of the church and king-  
 ' dom of Ireland, the distressed state of the church  
 ' and kingdom of England, and the dangerous  
 ' state of the church and kingdom of Scotland,  
 ' are present and public testimonies: We have  
 ' now at last, after other means of supplication,  
 ' remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for  
 ' the preservation of ourselves and our religion  
 ' from utter ruin and destruction, according to  
 ' the commendable practice of these kingdoms  
 ' in former times, and the example of God's  
 ' people in other nations, after mature delibera-  
 ' tion, resolved and determined to enter into a  
 ' mutual and *Solemn League and Covenant*, where-  
 ' in we all subscribe, and each one of us for  
 ' himself, with our hands lifted up to the Most  
 ' High God, do swear,

I. ' That we shall sincerely, really, and con-  
 ' stantly, thro' the grace of God, endeavour in  
 ' our several places and callings, the preservation  
 ' of the reformed religion in the Church of  
 ' Scotland,

LETTER XLVII. Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline  
government, against our common enemies;  
reformation of religion in the kingdom  
England and Ireland in doctrine, worship,  
discipline and government, according to the  
will of God, and the example of the best reformed  
churches: And shall endeavour to bring  
the churches of God in the three kingdoms  
to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in  
religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church  
government, directory for worship, and  
disciplining; that we and our posterity after us  
as brethren, live in faith and love, and  
the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst  
of us.

II. That we shall in like manner, with  
respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation  
of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, church-govern-  
ment by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chan-  
cellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chaplains,  
Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers  
depending on that hierarchy,) superstition,  
heresy, schism, prophaneness, and whatsoever  
shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine  
and the power of godliness, lest we partake in  
others sins, and thereby be in danger to receive  
of their plagues: And that the Lord may  
be one, and his name one, in the three king-  
doms.

III. We shall, with the same sincerity, rea-  
son and constancy, in our several vocations en-  
deavour, with our estates and lives, mutually  
to preserve the rights and privileges of the pa-  
rents, and the liberties of the kingdoms: .  
to preserve and defend the King's Maje-  
sty person and authority, in the preservation  
of the

defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts nor intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness. LETTER XLVII.

IV. ' We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. ' And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

VI. ' We shall also, according to our places and callings in this common cause of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing

LETTER XLVII. **thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary party or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of these kingdoms, and honour of the King: But shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatever, and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known that it may timely be prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God. And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest, by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, We profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the incalculable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all under our power and charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives,**

'lives, and each one to go before another in the LETTER  
 'example of a real reformation, that the Lord XLVII.  
 'may turn away his wrath and heavy indigna-  
 'tion, and establish these churches and kingdoms  
 'in truth and peace. And this Covenant we  
 'make in presence of Almighty God the searcher  
 'of all hearts, with a true intention to perform  
 'the same, as we shall answer at that great day,  
 'when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclo-  
 'ed: Most humbly beseeching the Lord to  
 'strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end,  
 'and to bless our desires and proceedings with  
 'such success, as may be deliverance and safety  
 'to his people, and encouragement to other  
 'christian churches groaning under, or in dan-  
 'ger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to  
 'join in the same or like association and  
 'Covenant: To the glory of God, the enlarge-  
 'ment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the  
 'peace and tranquillity of all christian kingdoms  
 'and commonwealths."

Tho' these Covenanters plead "the example  
 "of God's people in other nations," it is well  
 known that the example is not peculiar to  
 such as they affect to call "God's people," for  
 the *Holy League* in France which was first pro-  
 jected by the Cardinal of Lorrain, a plotter on  
 the Popish side, fully as zealous as Mr. Hen-  
 derson on the Puritan, had the same pretext of  
 religion, and held forth the same insnaring pro-  
 fession of "rendering due obedience to the King  
 "in maintaining the exercise of the true reli-  
 "gion." A like imitation of the Romish pat-  
 tern is but too observable in the fourth ar-  
 ticle about the discovery of malignants, which  
 seems to be neither more nor less, than setting



LETTER up a Court of Inquisition in every corner, p  
 XLVII. haps in every family, of the kingdom, and  
 ~~~~~ liging the son, if he shall think his father  
 malignant, to inform against him, and prosec
 him to death. In short, it is easy to see
 on the very face of this studied composition
 hypocrisy and impudence, that under the m
 of reformation, the main design of it was aim
 against the King, whom, with all their prete
 ed loyalty of heart and fallacious engagemen
 of defence, they could not but, in conform
 to their expressions, look upon as one of “
 “ enemies of God,” being then in open
 against “ the professors of the true religio
 who were thus *Solemnly Leaguing and Covenant*
 together. Yet such as it was, it passed with
 hesitation in the Assembly, and was the same
 joyfully received and ratified by the conven
 of the Estates which had met at the King’s si
 mons: On which Bishop Burnet in his *Memo*
 &c. remarks, that “ wise observers wonder
 “ see a matter of that importance carried th
 “ upon so little deliberation and debate: It
 “ thought strange to see all their conscience
 “ such a size, and to agree so exactly as the
 “ veral wheels of a clock, which made it
 “ suspected that there was some first mover
 “ directed all these other motions. This, by
 “ one party, was imputed to God’s extraordin
 “ providence, but by others, to the power
 “ policy of the leaders, and to the fear
 “ simplicity of the rest.”

The next thing the assembly did, was to
 point commissioners to go to London, and con
 with the Westminster synod in promoting
 new combination; and the men pitched u
 were Henderson, Bailey, Rutherford and Gi

pie ministers, and Lord Maitland and Waris-
 ton ruling-elders. Upon the 30th of August ^{LETTER XLVII.}
 these new delegates set off, and on the 25th of ^{A.D. 1643.}
 September the two houses of Parliament, and the
 synod of divines convened with them in the
 church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. At this
 solemnity one White a minister of the synod pray-
 ed an hour, to prepare them for taking the cove-
 nant: Then Nye the Independent mounted the
 pulpit, and harangued upon it, endeavouring to
 justify it by scripture-precedents, and to shew the
 benefits that the church has received by such
 combinations. This panegyrick was seconded by
 Henderson, who added a complaint of the King's
 being governed by wicked counsel, and a pro-
 mise of assistance from the states of Scotland to
 the Parliament of England, in the cause they
 had undertaken. When Henderson had done his
 part, Nye read the covenant from the pulpit,
 and all the audience held up their hands, in token
 of their assent. At last being engrossed on parch-
 ment, it was subscribed by the Lords and com-
 mons in their respective houses, and by the assem-
 bly of divines and the Scots delegates in the con-
 sistory-room of the synod. Immediately after, the
 Scots commissioners were admitted members of
 that Assembly, with the same powers and provi-
 sion that the English had, and in this capacity
 we find them soon after signing a letter from the
 Assembly, by order of Parliament, to the reformed
 churches abroad, "to inform them of the
 "great artifices and disguises of the King's a-
 "gents in these parts, and of the state of their
 "own affairs at home."*

* The subscriptions to this canting address stand thus, "your
 "most affectionately devoted brethren in Christ, William Twisse
 "Prolocutor, Cornelius Burgess, John White Assessors, Henry
 In

LETTER In Scotland, the work of the covenant went
CLVII. rapidly on, the commission of the Assembly hav-
 ing decreed, and sent peremptory orders to all the Presbyteries, that without delay it should be sworn and subscribed throughout the whole kingdom, under pain of excommunication. Accordingly on the 13th of October it was solemnly sworn and subscribed in the high kirk of Edinburgh by the members of the commission themselves, and by the convention of Estates, in presence of so many of the English delegates as had stayed here for that purpose: And on the 22d the convention by an express act ordered it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, "under pain of being punished as enemies to religion, his Majesty's honour, and the peace of these kingdoms, and to have their goods and rents confiscated, and they not to enjoy any office or benefit within the kingdom, and to be cited to the next Parliament, to receive what further punishment his Majesty and the Parliament should inflict upon them." Yet his Majesty had, by his authority, which was not yet disclaimed, expressly prohibited what was here enjoined, under pain of treason, and therefore a few of the principal nobility stood out against this new covenant, and either fled to the King's standard, or trusted to the interest of their friends in the convention. But over the inferior gentry and common people matters were carried with the utmost violence, especially by the preachers, who, under pretence of the oath of the co-

"Roborough, Adoniram Byfield Scribes. John Maitland, Archibald Johnston, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Bailey, George Gillespie, Commissioners of the church of Scotland."

venant,

venant, erected a most tyrannical tribunal over all sorts of men and all families in the kingdom; so that, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, "the preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastized the children, and insulted the servants in every house." LETTER XLVII.

In England, where the clergy had hitherto escaped the rage of covenanting reformation, they were now the principal sufferers. Such of them as refused to enter into this *Solemn League* were either obliged to retire to places under the King's protection where, tho' their persons were safe for a while, they could expect but scanty provision, or to run the risk of being plundered and imprisoned, and exposed to every kind of lawless outrage. In London alone, about a hundred and fifteen clergymen were turned out of their livings, their houses rifled, and their wives and families driven to the streets; from which may be conjectured the greatness of the calamity thro' the rest of the kingdom. All these violent proceedings gave such spirit to the faction in England, that Essex got his languishing army quickly recruited, and was enabled to raise the unhappy siege of Gloucester, and fight the King at Newbury on the 23d of October, where his Majesty had rather the disadvantage. In Scotland, the convention of estates were no less active, and having got down a liberal supply of money from London, they soon raised a powerful army, more zealously attached to the cause now than ever. Old Leslie Earl of Leven once more accepted the command, and now for the third time drew his sword against his Sovereign. Next to him was preferred another Leslie, David of the family of Lindores, who soon made a figure, and overtopped his namesake both

and 3000 horse, and by
they had pushed as far
shall leave them for a w
ployment, and proceed i
operations of the two co
land and England, in t
on.

N

L E T T E R XLVIII.

Proceedings in the Scotch and English Parliaments against the Loyalists, Episcopacy, &c.—Montrose successful on the King's Side—Obliged to disband his Forces, by the King surrendering himself to the Scots—Consequences of this Surrender—The King sold to the English, falls into the Hands of the Independents—Escapes to the Isle of Wight, but is again delivered up to the Parliaments—The Scots, in Opposition to the Kirk, raise an Army for his Rescue, which is entirely routed by Cromwell—The King brought to a mock Trial, and murdered at Whitehall.

AMONG the first fruits of the Covenant in Scotland, was an excise scheme, projected by Lord Balmerino, for the maintenance of the army, which was ill received thro' the whole kingdom, particularly by the citizens of Edinburgh. But the powerful oratory of the pulpit soon silenced the opposition, and by authority of

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LETTER the Estates the excise was enacted, and procl
XLVIII. ed at the market cross. Soon after, the
were alarmed with the news of the old Ma
of Huntly rising in arms for the King, w
they took care to revenge in all haste, by
summary excommunication of the Marquis
felt, and four of his chief adherents, the L
of Drum, Haddo, Skene, and Tippetty.
what provoked them most of all, was the
open ~~desertion~~ of their once good friend M
rose, whom they had been suspecting for
time, and whom the King, to fix him on his
had lately honoured with the title of Mar
For, which heinous offence, since they c
not as yet reach him with the temporal sw
the spiritual one was let loose on him, and on
faithful companions, the Earls of Crawford
Nithsdale, and the Lords Aboyne, Harries,
Rae, who were all excommunicated in the
Kirk of Edinburgh, on the 26th of April,
orders sent to intimate this sentence in e
Kirk of the kingdom. However, what vex
the falling off of Montrose gave them, was
good, measure allayed by the coming in of J
Hamilton's brother, the Earl of Lanerk,
tho' raised to that honour by the King,
made his Secretary, appeared now before
Commission of the kirk, and with strong
pressions of sorrow for his former adherenc
the King, begged to be admitted to the C
nant, and soon rose to be a Ruling Elde
On the 29th of May 1644 the General Assel
sat down at Edinburgh, without any Con
fession from the King, and passed an act for
ing a fresh recruit of Ministers to relieve
that attended their army in England, and for

A.D. 1644.

ing course to strengthen it and keep it up. And LETTER XLVIII.
 Whereas the military Presbytery had sent them
 word, that the city of York was blocked up by
 "swarm of obstinate Papists in it," for so
 they called all the King's friends; the Assembly
 returns this encouraging but impudent answer,
 That sanctuary which your enemies and the
 enemies of your God have taken, shall not
 save them."

At this time too, after waiting the three years
 of intermission, the Convention of Estates turned
 themselves into a Parliament, and sat down as
 such, of their own heads, at Edinburgh on the
 11th of June, without the least notice of, or from
 the King. Mr. Cant preached the opening ser-
 mon, and satisfied their expectations to the full.
 The main point he drove at, was to state an op-
 position between King Jesus and King Charles,
 as he was pleased to express himself, and upon
 that account, to press resistance to King Charles
 for the interest of King Jesus. This was preach-
 ing to the times, without regard to the scrip-
 tures, and shews what sense these men had of
 the pretended oath in their Covenant, to defend
 the King's person. In this Parliament, the loyal
 Sir John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor to the Earl
 of Aberdeen, having joined the Marquis of Hunt-
 ington under the King's commission, and being base-
 ly betrayed into Argyle's hands, was condemn-
 ed by a strange act of their own devising, "that
 treason might be committed against the States
 of the kingdom, as well as against the Sove-
 reign himself," and upon this stretch of par-
 lamentary despotism, was beheaded at the cross
 of Edinburgh on the 10th of July, as was like-
 wise soon after, the Laird of Logan in Dumfries-
 shire,

whom they now made H
land, in place of the four
ed in 1641. These were
the legal prerogatives of
impolitic strokes of war
event of the contention w
were encouraged to both
covenanted troops against
Marston-moor near York;
it is said, was owing to
Rupert on the King's si
fault from the English
the Scotch David Leslie o
the first and most severe
affairs had met with in
succeeded by a train of n
shock at Naleby on the
which he never recovered

Of this critical situation
fail to take all possible
mons at Westminster ren
Archbishop Laud, and af
tion, aggravated by the
and distinctly answered i

73d year of his age. At the same time an ordinance passed both houses, for abolishing the book of Common Prayer, and establishing the Directory for public worship, which their Assembly of divines had lately framed. By this directory it was appointed, "that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting for public worship, and sometimes more when the chapters be short, and the coherence of the matter requireth it, and that all the canonical books be read over in order, beginning the next Lord's day where it ended the last. It lays down rules for managing the sermon, and for the method of prayer, both before and after it: It recommends the use of the Lord's prayer, not only as a pattern, but also as a most comprehensive form of devotion: As to baptism, it forbids the unnecessary delaying it, and the administration of it, by any private unordained person, or any where but at church, and in the face of the congregation: At the receiving of the Lord's Supper, the table, being decently covered, is to be so placed, that the communicants may sit about it, but the posture of the Minister, or when, or how he is to communicate, is not prescribed: The dead are to be buried without any religious ceremony, and the other ministerial offices of marrying, visiting the sick, &c. are referred for the most part to the Minister's own pleasure." But thro' the whole composition, there is not the least mention of the creed and the ten commandments: For when that point was agitated in the House of Commons, where all these theological questions were debated before a final decision, there was a majority of

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votes

from both sides. The
" That Episcopacy should
" That the sitting of the
" confirmed by his Majesty
" established as the legal st
" That his Majesty take th
" Covenant: And that an
" passed, for enjoining it o
" the three kingdoms." Th
ed his Commissioners to go
with his conscience and c
mands from the other side
travagant, that after a deba
on the religious part of the
Dr. Stewart, the clerk of his
and the Scottish Mr. Hen
ment, the treaty broke up
ary, without the least agree
whatever. The decisive a
pening soon after, so flus
that without troubling the
bout the royal sanction, th
force their religious ordina
nalties. enacting. that if any

Collier.

pounds for the second, and suffer a year's imprisonment for the third.

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Thus matters went swimmingly on with the Covenanters in England, to which, their Scotch friends, both in council and camp, did not a little contribute. But in Scotland, the party had not of late been so successful. The Marquis of Montrose, after the unlucky affair of Marston-moor, had returned to his own country, where he produced the King's commission, and with a supply of twelve hundred men from Ireland, joined to the handful of troops which he had raised at home, on the first of September 1644, obtained a complete victory over a superior body of the Covenanters at Tippermuir near Perth, and on the twelfth, overthrew another army of them under the Lord Burleigh at Aberdeen. This unexpected opposition so incensed his adversaries, that they forfeited his estate, and imprisoned all suspected persons whom they could lay hands on, but durst not proceed to greater extremities, for fear of retaliation. Mean time Montrose having scoured the country for some months, at last met with Argyle at Innerlochy, on the 2d of February, and defeated him, with no great slaughter on either side. His next encounter was with General Hurry, at Auldearn, on the 4th of May, where he gained another complete victory : And on the 2d of July he came up with General Baillie at Alford, and got the better of him too, with little loss on his own side, but of his brave friend the Lord Gordon. These repeated successes, in so short a time, put the Covenanters to their wits end, and all engines, civil and ecclesiastical, were set a-going, to stop such a dangerous career. The Parliament ordered levies

LETTER XLVIII. to be raised thro' all the kingdom with the most speed, and the Assembly issued out a lemn exhortation to all ranks and degrees, "mind their Covenants, and to pay their v^o and taxes, and public burdens, for conscience sake, that the enemy who had displayed a banner against the Lord, and against his Church might be suppressed."

By these methods they collected another numerous army, and thought to surround Montrose in such a way, that it should not be possible him to escape them. But he took the start them, and falling upon their new raised army Kilfyth, between Stirling and Glasgow, on 15th of August, gave them the most bloody overthrow they had met with, no fewer than seven thousand of them lying dead on the field.—Upon this unforeseen blow, their leading men found it prudent to provide for their own safety.—Glencairn and Cassilis, who had been busy recruiting in the West country, got over to Ireland and Argyle, Loudon, Lindsay, Lanerk, and the rest of them that escaped, run in all haste to Berwick. The country now came in to Montrose, with submissive acknowledgments and large promises: And the city of Edinburgh, whither he had sent a party to relieve the loyalists who were prisoners in the castle, made the most sacred protestations, even with curses and imprecations of their future allegiance, and in the most suppliant manner, begged to be taken into his protection.

At the same time the King sent Sir Robert Spotswood with a royal commission, constituting Montrose Captain General and Governor of Scotland, with ample powers to confer Knighthood
and

and summon Parliaments. Whereupon he appointed a Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of October next, and caused it to be proclaimed at the market-cross of Glasgow, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh. But providence had designed otherwise: For the covenanters, seeing their all now at stake, and finding their own internal strength unable to cope with Montrose, called home their countryman David Lesly, with the whole body of horse he commanded in England. And Montrose, being perhaps too secure in his late victory, and deceived by some in whom both the King and he too much trusted, was so decoyed into a snare, that, tho' he began to see his error at last, yet before he could properly retrieve it, Lesly by forced marches was up with him, and attacking him with his whole power of horse, entirely routed him, notwithstanding all the efforts that Montrose made to stand the shock of such a sudden assault. This battle, so unlucky to the King's cause, was fought at Philiphaugh on the 13th of September 1645, and had most tragical effects. Montrose himself, with a few followers got off safe, but a great number of them, missing their way, were seized by the country people and delivered up to the victors, who sent them to several prisons: The remainder of them, with Stuart the adjutant at their head, drew up in a littlefold, and by his means got quarter from Lesly, till the preachers thought proper to remonstrate against giving quarter to such wretches, and declared it an act of the blackest impiety to spare them; upon which the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except Stuart who was kept prisoner.

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wife, who in that time
led it, had shewn any fi
without any other faul
judged sufficient ground
satisfied with thus wrea
malignants of their own
their number to the co
the speedy execution of
In the mean time, Mo
was not disheartned by
having by uncommon i
parts of the North, ge
army, and made prep

* In compliance with this
tended ministers of the gospel
to be executed at the cross of
three hopeful young gentlemen
Sir William Rollo, Sir Philip
at which sight Mr. Dickson, th
ed out, " the work goes bon
contemporary says, passed afte
same instance, were executed :
worthy Sir Robert Spotswood
Earl of Tullibardin, Colonel
Guthry, son to the honest Bil

, in all probability he would have given the LETTER
 maners more trouble than ever, if the woful XLVIII.
 sion of the King's affairs in England had
 out a final, because authoritative, stop to his
 edings. After the gloomy day of Naseby,
 ing with his broken troops wandered from
 to place for some months, till at last with much
 ility he got safe to Oxford, where he hoped
 main till matters should take another turn
 favour. But when the next spring set in,
 informed that Fairfax and Cromwell were
 ring to lay siege to the place, and unwilling
 l into their hands, he left Oxford early in
 orning on the 27th of April 1646 in dis-
 and attended only by Dr. Hudson one of
 aplains, and Ashburnham of his bed cham-
 ame thro' by-ways on the 5th of May to
 cots army, then lying before Newark upon
 . Here he was received at first with every
 of respect, till Leven the General should
 re instructions from his masters at home,
 immediately upon getting the agreeable in-
 ence, dispatched the Earls of Lanerk and
 nder, and Lord Balmerino, to Newcastle, to
 place Leven had on the 13th brought both
 ing and the army. At the desire of these
 ngers, the King sent orders to his garrisons
 where to surrender, and to Montrose in
 ular to disband and capitulate with the ene-
 This order, repeated to him in a letter by
 rate bearer, cut down all Montrose's projects
 ice: So having obtained liberty to go be-
 sea, he left his own country in the end of
 ust, and went to France to offer his service
 e Queen.

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The King being now in the hands, and at disposal of the Scots, the English were obliged to court them, by concessions and offers which otherwise they would not have thought of. The independent scheme was beginning to prevail among them by the address of Cromwell, who for his friends encouraged that way, and had influence enough in the army to spread the spirit of there. In the synod at Westminster the divines of that persuasion were perpetually bawling, and clogging the Presbyterian measures, and had even formal debates, and threw out proposals in support of their own scheme. Besides, the two Houses of Parliament, by whom that synod had been called, having once got a taste of ecclesiastical power, were not very fond of the Scotch discipline, and did not chuse to be fettered in their pride and interest with any plan of church-government whatever. For when the Scots commissioners objected to some particulars in the Parliamentary reform, and insisted on the absolute authority of Kirk-sessions and Presbyteries, as well as provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, which they said was the settlement most agreeable to the covenant, notwithstanding of this remonstrance the House of Commons testified their unwillingness to part with their spiritual empire, by a public declaration, in April this year, “ that they could by no means consent to the granting an unlimited jurisdiction to ten thousand judicatories “ that such arbitrary sway was inconsistent with “ the fundamental laws of the nation, and “ necessary consequence excluded the Parliament “ from having any share in ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”

A.D. 1646

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This was a bitter pill to the Scots, who with great grief of heart wrote to the General Assembly at Edinburgh in June, "that they saw but little hopes of settling the Presbyterian discipline in England." The Assembly indeed was wise enough to put the best gloss they could on this mortifying intelligence, and went on with a high hand about their own business. For on the 17th of June they made an act, ordaining "all of high or low degree who had assisted Montrose, to be censured, by acknowledging their offence upon their knees first before the presbytery, and then before the congregation; suspending them in the mean time from the Lord's supper, and if they did not satisfy in the foresaid manner, to be excommunicated." And next day they wrote a congratulatory letter to the English Parliament, telling them, "it was a matter of great refreshment to them, that the enemy had fallen every where before them," at the same time magnifying their own constancy to the *Solemn League*, and exhorting the two houses to the like. Yet under all this mask of complaisance it is more than probable that, had matters continued with the King as they were the preceding year, this material difference in discipline would have produced an open rupture, and disjointed the two great limbs of the covenant from one another. But now that his Majesty had thrown the weight of his person into the Scotch scale, which it is generally thought he had been artfully decoyed into by the French envoy Montreville, at the instigation of the Scots agents, the English Parliament saw it necessary to be more compliant than otherwise they would have been. Accordingly they now gave out an ordinance, "for the
" present

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pudding, -- Certain com
" agreed upon June 19th
" Presbyterian governmen
" ing to the late ordinanc

This timely condescend
ening breach: And both I
in reviving their old de
that he " should take th
" their acts, and abolish
" as he had done in Sc
equally unreasonable prop
state, to the number of
left him neither conscienc
The Scots Assembly had
Ministers, Douglas, Can
Guthry, the most uncivil
to Newcastle, to assist in r
But the main stress of c
was laid on their princip
who was dispatched from
as the only man capable
a compliance with the t
troverfy was begun about
and by mutual consent, v

was very fully discussed, and by the King's manner of writing, one would think that he had been in one of his royal palaces among his books, and in the midst of his chaplains, disputing at his ease, with all the weight of personal character in his favour. But when we remember what a melancholy situation he was in, little better than a prisoner, among people whom he could not trust, distressed in his mind about the perplexities of state, and harassed in his conscience about what he thought important points of religion, without books and divines to direct and assist him; and when we observe too, from the several dates, how much readier he is in his defences, than Henderson in his attacks, we cannot but admire the temper and penetration of the arguer, whatever force we may allow to the argument.

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Mr. Henderson did not long survive this honourable, but unsuccessful employment, and it is said, that on his death bed, before four of the brethren who had come to see him, he deeply regretted the part he had acted in the public commotions; "Taking God to witness, that he proposed nothing when he began, but the se-

given in on the 22d, and Henderson's on the second of July. The next day the King wrote a 4th paper, and a fifth on the 6th, and on the 16th of July the debate was closed with this judicious declaration by the King, that, "altho' he never esteemed any authority equal to the scriptures, yet he believes the unanimous consent of the fathers and the universal practice of the primitive church, the best and most authentic interpreters of God's word, and consequently the best qualified judges between himself and his antagonist: As for example, he says, I believe you Mr. Henderson to be at present the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and a better preacher may come: But till then I must retain my opinion."

"curity

LETTER XLVIII. " curity of religion and the kirk, in opposition
 " to Popery, which, he was made to believe
 " was at the bottom of the King's designs, but
 " now he was sensible all his fears were ground-
 " less: He had conversed frequently with the
 " King, and was fully satisfied that he was a
 " sincere a Protestant as was in all his dom-
 " nions: For which reason he gave them his
 " advice, as from a dying man, that they should
 " break off in time, for they had all gone too
 " far already, and nothing now was so proper
 " for them as to retreat and return to the
 " duty to his Majesty, who was the most learn-
 " ed, the most candid and conscientious, the most
 " religious, and every way the best King that
 " ever did sit upon a throne in Britain. Re-
 " peating it again to one of the brethren, who
 " not relishing such discourse, would have had
 " it pass as the ravings of a man in a high
 " fever, that he was not raving, but had the
 " use of his reason as much as ever, and there-
 " fore desired them, in the name of God, to be-
 " lieve that what he spake, was from his heart
 " and with all the sincerity and seriousness that
 " became a dying person: *


* This account, so highly in the King's favour, and upon the
 main, no way reflecting on Mr. Henderson's memory, the au-
 thor of " The Cyprianic age" tells us he had from one of the
 four, a Mr. Robert Freebairn, who was afterwards minister of
 Gask and Archdeacon of Dunblain, and tho' coming thro' suc-
 cessive hands, it may appear suspicious to some who will not believe
 any good thing of this injured prince, yet that it was no last
 invention of the narrator's own head, we may rationally con-
 clude from this consideration, that the English Dr. Heylin
 who died within 15 years after Mr. Henderson, in the conclu-
 sion of his " Acrius redivivus," which he wrote during these
 troubles, mentions the story as current even then, " that Mr
 Upor

Upon the finishing of Henderson's undertaking, without any impression on the King, the English Commissioners declined any further reasoning, and peremptorily demanded his ultimate answer to their propositions. But these were so unconscionably extravagant, that he could give no satisfaction: So on the 2d of August he left Newcastle, and returned to London, to new resolutions, and effect by force, what he could not obtain by treaty. The Scots Commissioners had been most earnestly pressing him likewise to grant the English demands, ever hard and severe, and the Chancellor of Scotland had the assurance to tell him, "That the consequence of his answer was no less than the ruin or preservation of his crown and kingdom: That the Parliament of England was carrying all before them: That they neither desired himself, nor any of his race, longer to reign over them: That if he refused his answer, he would lose all his friends every where, and all England would join as one man, to depose him, and set up another government, so that both kingdoms would agree, for their mutual safety, to settle religion and peace without him, to the ruin of his person and posterity:" And concluded with this rough declaration, "That if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland." At all this bullying the King replied, with great spirit and magnanimity, "That no condition they could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and grievous to him, as that to

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Henderson died a convert, frequently extolling those great abilities which, when it was too late, he had found in his Majesty."

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name of the kingd
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son, and enforced
duty, honour, and
not but present to
speech, for which
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and sat down, he
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" kingdom of Sco
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" of the King in t
As if he was not
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at Edinburgh; or
not have brought h
Tweed, before the I
interfered; in which
the English could h
posal of him. The
have been nothing l
ones on both sides.

osing of their King's person, as they could have LETTER
one about a piece of contendible property, or XLVIII.
stray that had wandered from its former own- 

On the 18th of August the Committee of
States and Commission of the kirk both con-
vened, to debate the question, "Whether to
own the King, or call home the army and
leave him to the English?" and at this first
meeting it was concluded to send nine Com-
missioners to him, to deal with him to sign the
English propositions. On the 10th of Septem-
ber they returned, and gave in their report to
the Committee, that his Majesty had refused to
sign. Upon which, the debate was resumed,
and the few who appeared for the King, not
willing to mention his interest, for fear of ma-
jesty, pled from this argument, that "as
the reason for carrying the army into Eng-
land at first, was to pursue the reformation;
how could they withdraw it, when that end
was not yet obtained?" But the Commission
of the kirk soon solved this difficulty, and de-
cided the Committee not to delay the calling
home of the army on any account of reforma-
tion; because, say they, "we cannot force mens
consciences!" Forgetting, like true time-servers,
their own doctrine and practice some years ago,
when they forced people to swear and subscribe
their Covenants against conscience and inclina-
tion both.

However, the decision of the question was again
suspended, till the meeting of the Parliament on
the 3d of November. At their first sitting down,
they were immediately saluted with a remon-
strance from the Commission of the kirk, com-
plaining

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plaining of the Committee of Estates for raising the agreement with Montrose and his followers, being all excommunicated persons, and exclaiming bitterly against the King's adherence to Prelacy, and of the danger religion was in from the malignants setting up their heads again. This early appearance of zeal was no good omen in the King's favour. And when they were consulted by the Parliament, "Whether, if the King should come to this kingdom, on his being excluded out of England for his refusing to sign the propositions, it would be lawful for this kingdom to receive and assist him," they answered, "that in regard of the engagements of this kingdom by Covenant and treaty, it was not lawful."

About the middle of December, notice was sent from the agents at London, that they had so far agreed in their accounting with the Parliament of England, as to receive £.200,000 sterling in hand, and the public faith for as much more to be paid at terms, "provided the Scots would retire their army, and surrender the King without any conditions for him." The two Houses had been preparing for a bargain of this kind: For in October they had passed an ordinance for abolishing the office and title of Bishops, and selling their lands to pay the public debts, and against the 8th of December they had received the most of the money. The intelligence was most cordially received, and the Commission backed it with a "seasonable warning to keep in with the Parliament of England, and not to own the King." Yet for form's sake, there was a new delegation appointed to him on the 29th of December, to require

him to sign the propositions, with certification of what would follow, if he did not. On the 14th of January these delegates returned with his Majesty's last refusal. And so upon the 16th of January 1647, it was concluded by a vast majority of the House, "that according to the agreement of their Commissioners, the army should retire, and the King be left to the English, without any conditions for him, or this nation's interest in him." This shameful act, against which there appeared only six of the Nobility, four Barons, and three Burgeses, being immediately sent up to the Commissioners at London, the stipulated money was without delay paid to the Commissary General of the Scots at Newcastle, having been sent off from London to York on the 16th of December, in thirty six carts. On the 3d of February, the Earl of Pembroke, who had received the King, took his departure with him, and by easy journeys brought him under a sure convoy, on the 16th, to Holmby-house, one of his own castles in Northamptonshire, which the Parliament had destined for his lodging. The Scots army with their treasure left Newcastle on the last day of January, and on the 11th of February their rear crossed the Tweed at Kelso, where six regiments of horse were disbanded, after having been sworn to be true and faithful to the Covenant and cause of both kingdoms.

This disgraceful transaction will admit of no apology, and must stand on record as a lasting monument of the abominable principles of those concerned in it. However, the English Parliament did not long enjoy the pleasure, which they had so dearly purchased, of having their
Sovereign

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LETTER XLVIII. Sovereign under their command. For on the 4th of June, their army, which Cromwell had by this time taught to set up for itself, sent Cornet Joyce with 500 horse to Holmby, where he carried off the King, and brought him to the camp at Newmarket. The news of this alarmed the Covenanters in Scotland, and made them begin to think what would be the issue of these strange revolutions. Yet they went on with their judicatories, both civil and ecclesiastical, and exercised their authority as if there had been no disorder nor confusion in the island. The General Assembly met on the 3d of August, and on the 20th directed a brotherly exhortation to their brethren in England, "that they may give a testimony to the truth of God, and to the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ, so much resisted and opposed, and beseeching them, as ambassadors for Christ, to put the two Houses, and all that have taken the Covenant, in mind, not to suffer themselves, directly nor indirectly, to be drawn from it to any sinful compliance, or making peace, till Presbytery be settled, and Prelacy abolished." And indeed there was need at this time for all this fervency and zeal: For two of their countrymen Baillie and Gillespie, who had been members of the synod at Westminster, laid before them a copy of the Prolocutor Twisse's speech, their taking leave of the synod: In which, to remove the suspicion which it seems Gillespie had hinted of the synod's defection, Twisse mentions "the bad observance of the Director," "the Assembly's want of power to censure offenders, and that the Lord was pleased still to exercise them with many wrestlings: He confesses."

confesses their affairs to be much embarrassed, and in a kind of chaos at present: In the end, he puts them in mind of the restraint the synod lies under from the Parliament, and that this is no proper juncture to apply for relief, it being a time of general darkness and sad apprehensions." The meaning all which seems to be, that he feared the dependents would prevail against them, and all their darling scheme of Presbytery to pieces, which happened accordingly.

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At the same time Gillespie produced the Confession of Faith, Catechism and Directory lately drawn up by the synod, all which this Assembly approved, and ordered to be made use of. This confession, so well known by the name of the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, had been at first the work of chance, and not originally intended in its present form. The two houses had last year ordered their synod to examine and rectify the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the Church of England, in obedience to which order these divines had reviewed the first fourteen, and altered them to a tolerable conformity with their own notions. But finding the rest to be too stubborn for their purpose, they gave over the mending business, and thought it more convenient to make a new confession, than reconcile the old one. In this performance it is observable, that their pretensions to ecclesiastical authority fall much short of the claim which was then set up

Scotland. They yield to the civil magistrate the power of convening Church-assemblies, and superintending their proceedings: And as to the independence of the church, the divine right of the presbyteries, and the setting Christ upon his

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his throne, which was the common style of the times; they are altogether silent. It would seem they had felt the pulse of the two Houses, and found it beat too high for such a regimen. This Confession, tho' thus imperfectly drawn, was offered by way of "humble advice to the Lords and Commons" for the sanction of ordinance, to make it pass for the doctrine of the Church of England: And then they broke down the contents of it into a Catechism, and spreading it the more readily among the people. But finding this first draught to be too bulky for schools, or common use, they contracted it into an abridgement called the *Lesser Catechism*, which has been used in Scotland ever since: Tho' even in this abridged state, it has more the appearance of a system of divinity for students than of a catechism adapted either to the memory or understanding of children.

The Assembly too, before they rose, appointed a fast throughout the kingdom, and assigned several reasons for such a national humiliation: "That notwithstanding their solemn engagements, a multitude of sins abounded in the land: That religion and civil government was in danger, from the prevalency of the sectaries in England: That there was a fearful defect in every where from the Covenant: That the good people in England, who are zealous of the work of God, are miserably oppressed: That those, who under pretence of liberty, are suffering at no less than tyranny and arbitrary power. And therefore, the people are to be instructed to pray, that God would preserve the Kingdom from further snares, and bow his heart to the obedience of his will, in all things that com-

"cern religion and righteousness." Such was their method of praying for the King, not as a King, for the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority, both which they had already contributed to ruin, but as a dignified tool for them and their brethren to work with, for the full and complete accomplishment of their favourite plan, which sectaries were laying 'snares' to countermine and defeat. The present posture of affairs in England filled their minds with sad apprehensions, and gave them sufficient ground for these grievous complaints. For when the Presbyterian branch of the Covenant there had disabled the King in the field, and got his person into their custody, when they had battered down the church, expelled the regular clergy, and now thought of nothing less than dividing the spoil which they had rapaciously torn, both from the crown and the church, they saw themselves sadly disappointed, and the prey which they had set their hearts upon, violently wrested from their hands by their covenanted brethren the Independents.

Under the sense of this heavy disappointment, the first thing which gave them any relief, was the King's escape from the army on the 11th of November, and getting safe to the isle of Wight, where Hammond the Governor perfidiously detained him, and sent notice to the Parliament of what had happened. This sudden turn, which seems to have been the result of a new plot, set the Presbyterians upon their legs again, and both English and Scots fell to work once more with their artful applications and bold demands upon their still distressed Sovereign. The Scots, on hearing the agreeable news, sent the Earls of Lou-

LETTER XLVIII. don and Lanerk, to concur with Lord Maitland now become Earl of Lauderdale, in taking care of their national interests, and to bring the King over to their side. With this view, they now represented to him, that if he agreed to the four articles which the English parliament proposed for entering into a personal treaty with him, it would be granting more than was fit or just; and would be an entire resignation of his regal authority, rather than which they said, "it were better for him to make some farther steps in giving Scotland full contentment anent their reformation, in which case they would undertake the whole kingdom should engage for his restoration."

Upon these assurances, repeated again and again with most solemn protestations, the King was persuaded, on the 15th of January 1648, to agree to all their demands, and they solemnly engaged that all Scotland should unite and take arms for his re-establishment with honour.—Matters being thus transacted with the Scots, the King called for the English commissioners, and dismissed them with a final negative to their four propositions: Which so incensed the two Houses, that they broke out into the most virulent language against him, and passed an act declaring it treason "to hold any further correspondence with the King, or make any more addresses to him without their leave," and at the same time they sent a peremptory order to Hammond, to shut him up in close confinement, which was instantly obeyed. The Scots agents, on their return, gave in their report to the committee of estates, who were well enough pleased with it. But the commission of the kirk began to grumble

the King's concessions as not satisfactory, and the committee to take care that religion should be no damage. On the 2d of March the committee sat down, and on the 25th the committee sent six ministers and three ruling elders a paper of eight articles, remonstrating against the King's concessions, and protesting that there might be no such grounds of war as to the covenanted union of the two kingdoms, as to oblige the Presbyterians of England.

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As the contention was begun, and a continual train of altercations and opposition carried on in the kirk, till the 3d of May, when the Parliament appointed a levy of 30,000 foot and 6000 horse, and soon after declared Duke Hamilton commander in chief, against all which the committee solemnly protested, and sent copies of protestation to all the presbyteries, with strict orders to keep a public fast on the last Sabbath of the month against that course. The chancellor Loughborough, who was one of the three who brought the bill into the present snare, thought proper to break off from his engagements, and not only to leave the violent party, but even, to testify his submission, and to do penance in the high-church at Edinburgh for his sinful compliance with these measures. The Marquis of Argyle, the Duke of Eglinton, Castles and Lothian, the Lords Lindsay and Burleigh, with many others, appeared active against, and did what they could to suppress the Parliamentary levies. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 12th of May, and on the 24th emitted a declaration, that there is no possibility of securing religion, unless his engagement for the King be carried on; that his concessions are not sufficient, and that

LETTER XLVIII. " before he be assisted, he must give assurance under his hand and great seal, to settle religion in all his dominions according to the Sole League and Covenant." To strengthen this declaration, they make an act on the 28th against the foresaid acts of Parliament and committee, against all oaths and bonds in the common law imposed without consent of the kirk: And on the last of July they remonstrate against the fulfilment of the Engagement as being a notorious breach of the covenant in all the six articles of it, and therefore they charge all to be now accessory to it, " as they would eschew the wrath of God, and escape the censures of the kirk.

To these declarations of the Assembly the Committee made answer in a long letter, proving that it was their bounden duty commanded by God to assist and deliver their King out of captivity and requiring the Ministers every where to stir up the people by their prayers and preachings, and by every other means of their calling, to obey the public orders for this business. But the Assembly continued obstinate in their resolution and on the 2d of August they supplicated the Committee to forbear that undertaking, " as being a snare to mens consciences, to involve them in guiltinets, and to withdraw them from their former principles and vows in the Solemn league." Yea, they had the assurance at last to present an address to the King himself on the subject, in which among other base insults, they tell him, " that in all that had fallen him, it would be his wisdom to receive the right hand of the Lord writing bitter things against him, as for all his provocation so especially for resisting his work of the Covenant

"Covenant, and shedding the blood of God's
 "people, for which it was high time to repent :
 "That if he had hearkened to their counsels
 "anent their League and Covenant, he might
 'have been sitting in peace in his own house :
 That if he will yet hearken, he may yet be
 restored, tho' they are afraid their counsels now
 will be in vain and without success, because
 of the wrath of the Lord of hosts, who bring-
 eth down the mighty from his throne : But
 they shall mourn in secret for it." This lan-
 guage needs no comment, and plainly shews the
 dispositions of these men, and what infamous li-
 beries they took with that ambiguous Covenant-
 oath of their own devising.

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Yet, notwithstanding of all this opposition from  
 the kirk, the army was raised as proposed, and  
 on the 8th of July began their march to Eng-  
 land; but upon the 18th of August they were  
 met by Cromwell and Lambert, with all the  
 force of the English army, near Preston in Lan-  
 cashire, and utterly routed with a prodigious  
 slaughter. The Duke was taken in his flight,  
 and sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where, in  
 a few days, he got a number of fellow-lodgers  
 from other parts of England for the same cause.  
 And now the Scottish malecontents had full scope,  
 with the Chancellor Loudon at their head, to  
 vent their resentment on all those who had shewn  
 any sign of favouring the *Unlawful Engagement*,  
 as it was now called. Cromwell after his victory  
 marched a part of his conquering troops as far as  
 Edinburgh, but was soon called back to London  
 by a new treaty between the King and the Par-  
 liament, which was begun at Newport in the  
 Isle of Wight on the 15th of September, but to

LETTER XLVIII. as little purpose as any of the former. For the two Houses, tho' not a little humbled by the overbearing insolence of Cromwell and his military partizans, were yet as stiff and supercilious as ever, and would not allow the King's divines and other assistants to be present in the room when their Commissioners were debating any point with him. And these Commissioners were so rude and boisterous, that two of them, told him with great bitterness, that, unless he took the Covenant, and consented to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he would certainly be damned. Under all these buffetings, his Majesty stood firm and unshaken as a rock. The inward regret which he felt in his mind, and so pathetically expresses in his meditations, for the concessions against Episcopacy in Scotland, which had been by force or fraud extorted from him, had such an effect upon him now, that tho' he was willing to admit certain regulations and limitations of the exercise of the temporal power which had long been annexed to the Episcopal order, he was inflexibly determined not to give the sanction of his name or authority to the total abolition of the order itself, which they had already, as far as they could, laid aside without him. So the treaty was spun out, without any prospect of accommodation, till the 20th of November, when Cromwell having got to London, put a final stop to it, by the usual terror of a remonstrance from the army. On the 30th, the King was taken from Colonel Hammond, and carried to Hurst Castle, by an order of a council of officers, and on the 23d of December was removed to Windsor, where Duke Hamilton was permitted to wait on him. And now a  
len

ast was held at Westminster, to seek the and beg his direction in their future pro-  
 gs against the King : On which occasion **LETTER XLVIII.**  
 ominable buffoon Hugh Peters, their chap-  
 old the audience, that, " upon a strict scru-  
 , he had found there were in the army  
 thousand saints, no less holy than those  
 now conversed in heaven with God Al-  
 hty : " And kneeling down, begged, in the  
 of the people of England, " that justice  
 ht be executed on that great Barabbas at  
 idfor."

this time there were Scots agents at Lon-  
 ie Earl of Lothian and Mr. Robert Blair, to  
 ip an hypocritical appearance of mediation,  
 ansmit proper intelligence to their consti-  
 . On the 4th of January 1649, a sort of  
 nent sat down at Edinburgh, and ordered  
 to be kept on the 10th, the result of  
 was an act for purging of judicatories,  
 ng, that malignants should be divided into  
 lasses, the first to be secluded from all pub-  
 ices during life, the second for ten years,  
 ird for five, and the fourth till the next  
 of Parliament. With respect to the King's  
 ns, which, it might have been thought,  
 h a crisis, deserved their attention, they  
 sent instructions to their agents, " that  
 y should not debate the question about the  
 g's life, but only labour for a delay, and  
 t they should in no case say or do any  
 ng that might occasion a national quarrel."  
 dingly the agents addressed the Commons,  
 ad now excluded the House of Lords, and  
 all the power into their own hands, that  
 would not proceed to try and sentence the  
 King,

LETTER XLVIII. King, till the advice of the Scottish nation first had upon it. The Presbyterian Ministers in and about London, drew up a spirited monstration against what they saw in agitation directed to the Lord General Fairfax, and signed by forty seven of them, on the 18th of January. But all this interposition was too late : For his Majesty's fate was now determined. The mock trial began on the 20th, and was finished on the 27th. It is not for a pen like mine to attempt a description of this unparalleled scene of brutality on the one hand, and magnanimity on the other. I shall therefore make use of the simple, but pathetic narration of Bishop Gutherie who was alive at the time, and closes his Memoirs with it ; " The next news we had, was concerning his Majesty's arraignment, he being several times brought from St. James before that committee in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, he did still except against the authority of the court : Yet, upon the 27th day of January, was he sentenced them, to be, upon Tuesday the 30th, beheaded before the gate of Whitehall : Which was accordingly performed ; and being dead, I his faithful cousin, James Duke of Lenox, had the permission to convey the royal body to Windsor Chapel, where it was interred. It ended the best of Princes, being cut off in the midst of his age by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects."

The character of this unfortunate Monarch has been drawn by many an able hand. I shall content myself with giving that admirable abridgement of it by the noble historian Clarendon who knew him well, and was a good judge

me

men, "that he was the worthiest gentleman, the  
 "best master, the best friend, the best husband,  
 "the best father, and the best christian that the  
 "age in which he lived produced. \*

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I am, &c.

* If any thing could be added to this comprehensive description, it might be said, "and the best writer too." His *Eikon Basilike*, or meditations on his own sufferings, which has been dearly proved and is now almost universally acknowledged to have been his composition, from the masterly elegance of the style, and the beautiful vein of mild but majestic seriousness that runs thro' the whole of it, would warrant this addition.

L E T T E R XLIX.

Proceedings against the Loyalists—The Marquis of Montrose betrayed and executed—An Army raised in Scotland for the King—Weakened by the Kirk, and defeated by Cromwell—Division among the Presbyterians—Charles II. crowned at Scoon—Marches into England, and his Troops being routed at Worcester, escapes to France—Instances of Cromwell's Tyranny in Scotland—His Death, and Consequences of it—Measures taken by General Monk for a Restoration—The King proclaimed at Westminster—He embarks for England, is met by Monk at Dover, and makes a magnificent Entry into London.

AFTER the fatal 30th of January 1649, the triumphant party in England had nothing to fear, and could now, with boldness, execute the same wrath upon the servants that they had done upon the master: For on the 9th of March they sent the Duke of Hamilton after his Sovereign, in whose service he had been always

was so unlucky, as to be either suspected or disappointed. This was uniform and self-consistent procedure in England, where the Commons, on the 7th of February, resolved, "that the office of a King is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and ought to be abolished." But in Scotland the public transactions bore a very striking and unaccountable kind of aspect. Immediately upon the news of the King's murder, a convention assembled by way of a Parliament, in which the Chancellor Loudon presided, and which proclaimed the now King Charles II, and sent over Commissioners to treat with him at the Hague, where he was residing. The treaty was soon concluded, tho' under most ungenerous and mortifying limitations. For, taking advantage of his reduced and dependent situation, as well as of his youth, for he was then but in the 19th year of his age, they obliged him to take their covenant himself, and would allow none to be about him but such as took it likewise. Yet, under all this outward appearance of duty and affection to the royal family, they still retained their old rancour to the faithful friends of it: For on the 9th of March, they brought to the scaffold and beheaded the Marquis of Huntly, who from first to last had been steady to the crown, amidst all the changes that had happened. And not satisfied with the destruction of this old and open enemy, they proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon each of their own former associates as had joined, or declared for the last year's unsuccessful attempt under Duke Hamilton. And the more effectually to reach these malignants, it was enacted, that all who had served or assisted in that undertaking, should be incapable of bearing any office

LETTER in the state, or sitting either in Parliament
 XLIX. Council, "till they had first satisfied the Kirk, by
 "public profession of their repentance for havin
 "been accessory to that *unlawful engagement*.*

The state being thus purged and modelled, the true covenanting taste, the Kirk had full scope to rule and tyrannize at pleasure, and exercised its power, to all the extent of Episcopal or even Papal rigour. The few ministers who were suspected not of disaffection only, but even of moderation were deposed; numbers of the laity, for b grumbling at the covenant, were fined and imprisoned; the very Noblemen and Barons were obliged to take young probationers into their families in quality of chaplains, but in reality to be spies upon them, and to report their private behaviour to the Presbyteries; and to enforce these severities, they had parties of Highlanders at their command here and there, whom the false concealed episcopalians used to call *Argyle-Apostles*. The General Assembly met in July, and on the 20th they passed an act "that the engagers "the war for relieving the King, make public "tisfaction in sackcloth, or be excommunicated

* By this judgment, the Earl of Glencairn was deprived the office of Justice-General, and the Earl of Lindsay removed from being treasurer, tho' both these noblemen had taken the covenant, and the last of them had been from the beginning a violent stickler for it. The Earl of Lauderdale too, another of that party, had been commissioned upon some business to attend the present King when Prince, and was now with him in Holland. And the Earl of Lanerk, having under all his compliances shifted backwards and forwards, incurred the displeasure of Argyle and Loudon who now governed all, had been apprehended by them, but got out of their hands and escaped also to Holland where he soon became Duke Hamilton, on the death of his brother without male-issue,

ordaining even such as submitted to their censures to "subscribe a declaration of the unlawfulness of that engagement, and of their sorrow for their sin and guilt by their accession to it, and solemnly to promise never to own the like courses again." They likewise ratified an act of the last Assembly, "that all persons whatever should take the covenant at their first receiving of the Lord's supper," and confirmed an order made by the commission in December, "that such seducers as had dissuaded people from petitioning against the unlawful engagement, should be debarred from the covenant." Yea so iteefully were they set against this engagement for the King's relief, that in "a seasonable and necessary warning," emitted by them on the 7th, they call the defeat of the army, tho' attended with the death of thousands of their countrymen, "a mercy and deliverance which ought to be remembered with thankfulness and praise." They likewise wrote a letter to the King, in which they reprimand him for adhering to the counsels of James Graham, (so they contemptuously called the Marquis of Montrose) and his accomplices; they require him to settle the Presbyterian Government and worship in all his dominions, and upon that condition they promise him their assistance, otherwise they tell him "all the blood shed by his father will be laid to his charge."

In the motley Parliament too of this famous year, the kirk obtained a singular favour, by an abolishing the heavy grievance of patronages, and setting up what they called the gospel-right popular elections. And this is the first time at ever this favourite claim, which has made
so

LETTER XLIX. so much noise among them even to this day, have the least countenance from any thing that could be called civil authority. For notwithstanding some ambiguous murmurings in the books of discipline at the beginning of the reformation, which at that time for prudential reasons seemed to favour and court the people, it is certain in fact, that no man was ever thought to have a just title to a kirk or legal benefice, unless he had a presentation from a patron, and collation either from the Bishop when episcopacy was established, or from the Presbytery, when that form prevailed. Even the Parliament of 1592, leaves this right of patronage as it stood, and while it rescinds all former acts in favour of Bishops, orders, "that in all time coming presentations to benefices be directed to the respective presbyteries." And this method continued to be both law and practice, till towards the end of this civil war, when the kirkmen, sensible of their now acquired strength, took upon them to dispose of kirks at their own pleasure, by amusing the deluded populace with a sham election, but in reality imposing ministers upon them by their own usurped authority.

Mean time the King kept his little court at the Hague, and found it very difficult to preserve peace and quiet among the few that came to wait on him, tho' they all made equal professions of duty and service to him. The Marquis of Montrose having, since he left Scotland in 1646, travelled thro' France, Germany and Flanders, soliciting assistance for his distressed Sovereign, but to no purpose, came now to the Hague, where the King most cordially received him, and presented him with the ensigns of the most noble order

order of the Garter. But this reception highly displeased the other two attending parties, the commissioners from the kirk and council, and the new Duke of Hamilton and his adherents: * and Montrose, like a dutiful subject, rather than embarrass his Sovereign, took his leave of that divided court, and having got proper credentials and a formal commission from his Majesty, went again thro' Germany, and as far as Denmark, in hopes of obtaining succours of men and money for his Master's service. In this laborious employment he spent most of the winter. But finding himself disappointed of the large supplies he had been made to expect, he at last set sail for Hamburgh with only five hundred foldiers and about an hundred officers, and landed safe in the Orkneys on the 15th of April 1650. Here he met with as kind entertainment as that poor country could give him, and the whole presbytery unanimously drew up a declaration of their loyalty, and their firm resolution to adhere to their allegiance to the King. Upon this account they were all deposed by the next General Assembly, and their moderator Dr. Aitkin minister of Birsa, who had presented the paper to the Marquis, was excommunicated, and an order of council was sent to apprehend him and try him for his life, which he got notice of, and escaped to Holland, where he resided till the restoration; and returning then,

* Tho' both these parties were jealous of, and looked sour upon one another, yet they united in their animosity against Montrose, even to that degree of rudeness, that when at anytime he came into the room where they were, tho' the King himself was present, they immediately withdrew and left the room, unless James Graham was ordered to retire because; forsooth he stood excommunicated by the kirk, and forfeited by the civil judicatory of the kingdom.

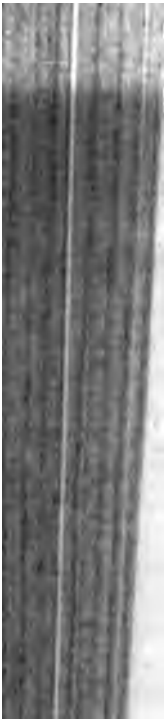
was

LETTER was in a few years made Bishop of Galloway.
 XLIX. From Orkney Montrose went to Caithness, where he published his commission, and invited all loyal subjects to join him for the King's service. But here again being deceived by fair promises, he was on the first of May overpowered by a strong body of horse which had been sent against him, and being betrayed by a gentleman to whom he had fled for shelter, was delivered to his adversary David Leslie, who carried him in great triumph to Edinburgh.

On the third day after, he was brought before their Parliament, where the president Loudoun made a most bitter and virulent speech against him, telling him, "that he had broken all the covenants by which the nation stood obliged," "had impiously rebelled against God, the King, and the kingdom, and had committed many horrible treasons, murders and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer a most dign punishment," with many personal reproaches which he durst not have uttered from any other place. To all this the Marquis heroically answered, "that he had indeed taken the first covenant, and had been as faithful to it as any of them, so long as the avowed design of it was observed: That the *Solemn League and Covenant* he had never taken, so could not break it, tho' now it was known over all Europe what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: That he had the King's commission for his first appearing in arms, in which service he had acted always as a gentleman, and never suffered blood to be shed, but in the heat of battle: That he saw many persons there, whose lives he had saved: That at the King's command


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mand he laid down his arms and left the country, which all their force could not have compelled him to: That he had now returned by the present King's orders, and with his authority, and whatever fortune he might have had, was always willing to have obeyed his commands: Wishing them therefore to consider well the consequences of their present procedure, and requiring that all his actions might be examined and judged by the law of the land, or by the law of nations." But without regard to his spirited and legal defence, the esident, after some deliberation, told him,—That on the morrow, being the 21st of May, he was to be carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and there to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high for three hours, then to be taken down, and his head to be taken off and set upon the tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns in the kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place of execution, except the kirk should be pleased to take off his excommunication, in which case it might be buried in the common place of burial." This savage and iniquitous sentence, which he heard with the greatest magnanimity and firmness of soul, was accordingly executed, in all the appointed circumstances of cowardly usage, and thus put an end to the short but active life of this truly admirable man, in the 38th year of his age. After his death, the scaffold which was set up at the Cross for the mangling of his body was, contrary to all former custom, kept removed near two months, for the execution of the Scots officers who were taken with him, and other worthy men who had embarked in the



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Hamilton or his
King's person, and
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val. They indeed
Leslie, but were so
with the command
sulted in any public
at any council, and
thered, but once.

The news of the 1
reached England, and
now from its broken
to be in derision cal

, and setting out from London on the 29th LETTER
 June, crossed the Tweed with his army on XLIX.
 12d of July, and came in sight of Edinburgh 
 out any opposition. This hostile invasion
 e no alteration among the Scots Politicians :
 the prevailing party, under the influence of
 cirk, continued as obstinate as ever, and pub-
 d a proclamation, banishing all malignants,
 hey called all that had been concerned in the
woful Engagement) from their armies, which
 sh order drove away no fewer than four
 land as good men as the King had. The

too, at this critical juncture, was busy with
 officious zeal, and was daily calling upon the
 to be deeply humbled for the transgressions
 us father in following evil counsels, shedding
 blood of God's people, opposing the covenant-
 work of reformation, and tolerating in his
 e the idolatry of the Queen. The *Commission*,
 ive a public testimony of their principles, on
 13th of August, emitted the following decla-
 m, which was approved the same day by the
 mittee of estates, and has been called the *Act*
of West-Kirk : “ The commission of the Ge-
 ral Assembly considering, that there may be
 st ground of stumbling, from the King's Ma-
 sty's refusing to subscribe and emit the de-
 aration offered to him by the committee of
 ates and commissioners of the General As-
 mbly, concerning his former carriage and re-
 lution for the future, in reference to the
 use of God, and the enemies and friends
 ereof, doth therefore declare, that this kirk
 id kingdom, do not own nor espouse any ma-
 nant party or quarrel or interest, but that
 ey fight merely upon their former grounds

LETTER XLIX. “ and principles, and in defence of the cause of
 “ God and of the kingdom, as they have done
 “ these twelve years past: And therefore, as the
 “ do disclaim all the sin and guilt of the King
 “ and of his house, so they will not own him
 “ nor his interest, otherwise than with a subor-
 “ dination to God, and so far as he owns and
 “ prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his
 “ own and his father’s opposition to the work of
 “ God, and to the Covenant, and likewise all
 “ the enemies thereof: And that they will with
 “ convenient speed take into consideration the
 “ papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Crom-
 “ well, and vindicate themselves from all the
 “ falshoods contained therein, especially in those
 “ things wherein the quarrel between us and that
 “ party is mistated, as if we owned the late King’s
 “ proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute and
 “ maintain his present Majesty’s interest, before
 “ and without acknowledgment of the sins of
 “ his house and former ways, and satisfaction to
 “ God’s people in both kingdoms.”

In this artful paper, we have an authentic expli-
 cation of their former views and future purposes,
 and from the whole strain of it, may easily see
 what their sentiments were of the late King’s fate,
 and how indifferently they stood affected to the
 young Prince whom they had amongst them.
 Mean time the two armies were advancing towards
 one another, and Cromwell being straitened for
 provisions, retreated towards Dunbar. Lesly fol-
 lowed him with caution, till, by the influence of
 the enthusiastic preachers, who, by blasphemously
 pretending revelations from heaven, promised cer-
 tain victory to their army of saints, he was prev-
 ed upon, contrary to his own judgment, to ob-

enemy battle, which Cromwell readily accepted, and on the 3d of September gave them a total rout, killing three thousand on the spot, and taking nine thousand prisoners, with all their coats, artillery, and ammunition. The remnant of them fled to Stirling, and the preachers impudently ascribed this calamity to the manifold provocations of the King's house, and to the secret signants who had still remained in the army. Cromwell after his victory took possession of Edinburgh; and the ministers of the city, not thinking themselves safe, took refuge in the Castle, from whence they wrote to Cromwell, who had invited them back with assurances of freedom to preach, that they found nothing expressed from which they could infer security to their persons, and therefore they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and wait upon him who had hid his face for a while from the Sons of Jacob." His enthusiastic language was lost upon Cromwell, who was as much master of cant as they were, and in answer wrote back to the Governor of the Castle a long letter, in which he vindicates himself from the imputation of insidious dealing, charges the ministers with laying the foundation of their reformation in worldly mixtures and acquisitions of power, and concludes with an observation which is worthy to have come from a better man, that "When ministers trust purely to the word of the Spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem, then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem which is to be the praise of the whole earth, the city of

LETTER
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the reformed kirks.  
charge Cromwell repl  
whether the Scots bea  
was sufficient evidence  
the ends of the Covenar  
bare affirmative be enou  
since every doctrine and  
the touchstone of Go  
point, of indulging th  
laity, he answers in the  
“ ed that Christ is prea  
“ the reformed kirks, :  
“ Is it against the Cove  
“ venant, if it be so. I  
“ these men, would h  
“ should speak good o  
“ not, it is no Covenar  
“ the kirk you so mu  
“ Christ.” And wher  
feat, had pled for them  
“ so learned Christ, a  
“ cause upon events,”  
trine, tho’ they had n  
retorts upon them “

“appeals? And shall we, after all our prayers, LETTER XLIX.  
 “fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn ap-  
 “peals, call these bare events? The Lord pity  
 “you.” Thus Cromwell fought our zealots with  
 their own weapons, turned their own artillery of  
 the Covenant upon them, and shewed himself as  
 able for them with the pen as he had been with  
 the sword.\*

After this defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, the  
 vanquished party resolved to admit the King and  
 his friends to the service of their country, and to  
 take a share in the common measures for that pur-  
 pose; tho’ there was still a stiff discontented set,  
 both in the Parliament and General Assembly, who  
 opposed this loyal as well as beneficial resolution,  
 and formally remonstrated against it. This gave  
 rise to the two Presbyterian Parties of public *Re-*  
*solutioners* and *Remonstrators*, who after this would  
 never unite in any business, but continued jarring  
 and counteracting one another, till their division  
 proved their downfall. Besides these political

\* It was during this extraordinary period of pretended il-  
 lumination, that George Fox, a mechanic in England, preached  
 up his new invention of the “Inward light,” and began the  
 sect of the Quakers, which was soon after greatly supported by  
 our countryman Robert Barclay of Urie, who, under all his  
 boastings of the light within, fought their battles with the car-  
 nal weapons of a liberal and accomplished education. His Apo-  
 logy, which he dedicates with great plainness and becoming  
 simplicity to Charles II. and which upon such an untenable  
 subject is not a contemptible, tho’ a very cunning composition,  
 joined with the activity and secular influence of the English  
 William Penn, who was Urie’s great intimate, kept the quaker  
 brotherhood in countenance and some degree of reputation for a  
 while, till upon the death of these two champions, they sunk gra-  
 dually into obscurity, and now are considerable for nothing, but  
 their superstitious continuance of their fundamental opposition  
 to the very elements and outward profession of christianity.

squabbles,

**LETTER XLIX.** squabbles, they began likewise to split among themselves about religious rites and practice. The Lord's Prayer, which hitherto had been constant use in the public worship, thro' all the various modes of church polity, and stood particularly recommended, almost to a positive injurion, by the new Directory, became offensive to the more enlightened brethren, who, not daring to abrogate it by a formal sentence, let it fall into disuse, with all the epithets of blasphemous contempt. The Doxology too, tho' not of divine original, yet of high antiquity in the church, and of continued practice in Scotland from Knox down to the Covenant, met with the same fate, and was jostled out after the same manner, not by any shew of authority, but by affected omission of the old custom.\*

Mean time the King, being put under Argyle's inspection, who wished well to none of his family, found himself little better than a prisoner, and was daily exposed to all the rudeness and malevolence of the preachers, who were perpetually clamouring and praying against the sins of the King and his household. To free himself from this unpleasant thralldom, he made a sudden start to the North Highlands, where some of the loyal clans were ready to receive and assist him: And after this, being treated with more respect, he was at last, on the first of January 1651, crowned at Scoon, with all the pomp and signs of joy that

\* Several other decencies, such as the men's uncovering their heads when they enter the church, and putting up a short petition in secret, the minister's kneeling in the pulpit for the same purpose, which even the first covenanting assemblies had retained as laudable practices, were now ridiculed, and thrown out of use, as not suiting the purity of this refined age.

divided state of the nation, and the weight of such an enemy as Cromwell lying in the metropolis with a victorious army, could admit of. \* LETTER XLIX.

The coronation thus over, all parties had access to his Majesty, and a Parliament being called to meet at Stirling, the Hamiltonian malignants were admitted to sit in it, having been previously obliged, as Lord Clarendon tells us, “to wipe off the stain with which the engagement had defiled

\* At this solemnity the young Earl of Rothes carried the sword of state, the Earl of Eglinton the spurs, the Earl of Lindfay the sceptre, and the Marquis of Argyle the crown. The canopy over his Majesty from his apartment to the church, was born by the eldest sons of the six Earls of Perth, Southesk, Dalhousie, Hartfield, Panmure and Tweeddale. We have an account of the whole solemnity from one who was present, the famous Mr. Robert Baillie, who had been one of the Scots commissioners at the Westminster synod, and writes thus. “This day we have done that which I earnestly desired and long expected, crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scoon, so peaceably and magnificently as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God; For it was Cromwell’s purpose, which I thought he might easily have performed, to have marred by arms that action, at least the solemnity of it. The Remonstrants with all their power would have opposed it. Others prolonged it, so long as they were able. Blessed be God, it is this day celebrated with great joy and contentment, to all honest-hearted men here. The King swore the covenant, the league and covenant, and the coronation oath. Mr. Douglas, from 2 Kings Ch. ii. Joash’s coronation, had a very pertinent, wise and good sermon.—When Argyle put on the crown; Mr. Douglas prayed well. When the chancellor set him on the Throne, he exhorted well. When all was ended, he with great earnestness pressed sincerity and constancy in the covenant on the King, declaring at length K. James’s breach of the covenant, pursued yet against the family, from Nehem. v. 13. God’s casting the King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues on him, if he did not sincerely keep the oaths now taken. He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th psalm.” Baillie’s

Letters.

to David Leslie,  
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kind of war for som  
Scots was attacked  
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ed; and twelve hund  
Cromwell came over  
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turned home. On  
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Besides, the exped  
committee of Scots

2, who led the van always a day's march a-  
 for inviting in the neighbouring gentry, and  
 himself a zealous Presbyterian, desiring him  
 blish a declaration " of the King's and the  
 oy's attachment to the Covenant, and their  
 t resolution to prosecute the true intent of it,"  
 or bidding him to receive any new soldiers,  
 uch as would subscribe an obligation to the  
 purpose. This officious and unseasonable  
 ow of intemperate zeal for their unhappy  
 nant, discouraged the loyalists in these parts,  
 : the Covenant-heat was neither so general  
 warm, and made many people less forward to  
 than otherwise they would have been. Yet  
 all these disappointments, casual or design-  
 e King held on his march as far as Wor-  
 , where he made a halt to refresh his troops.  
 Cromwell, who, upon finding that he had  
 him the slip, was following him at the  
 came up with him, and falling on him with  
 uch superior force on the 3d of September,  
 him a total and decisive overthrow. The  
 himself did all that could be expected on the  
 on ; but his troops being overborn by num-  
 were, after a stout resistance, broken and  
 d. Three thousand of them were killed, and  
 seven thousand taken. Duke Hamilton was  
 ded in the action, and falling into the victors  
 , died of his wounds the next day: The  
 of Rothes and Lauderdale, and the Generals  
 leton and Massie, were taken and carried to  
 on. The King himself providentially escap-  
 nd having skulked in different places, and for  
 days been forced to hide himself in a tree,  
 from that time the Royal Oak, at last, on  
 2d of October, got safe over to France, after



LETTER XLIX. fourteen months enjoyment of a kind of mock royalty among the Covenanters in Scotland.

When Cromwell marched after the King, he left General Monk, with seven thousand men, to manage matters in Scotland against the King's interest; and this able commander fulfilled his commission with amazing activity and success.\* After he had brought the whole kingdom under his obedience, an act was passed at London, for incorporating Scotland into one commonwealth with England, to which act of encroachment the Scots were forced to yield, and for form's sake to choose twenty one members, to represent the whole nation in the English Parliament. In consequence of this mortifying surrender of privilege, the Commons at Westminster appointed eight Commissioners to govern and administer justice in Scotland, the two Generals Monk and Lambert being two of the members; in virtue of which commission, Monk sent five of his Colonels to reform the King's College at Aberdeen, and these

\* He first seized the Castle of Stirling, where he found the records of the kingdom, and sent them to London: He then took the town of Dundee by assault, and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put a number of the defenceless inhabitants to the sword. The garrison which he placed here was a great annoyance to the King's cause in that neighbourhood. For while the King was on his march thro' England, a party of them sallied out on the 28th of August, and at a place called Eliot, apprehended the Earls of Marischal, Lindsay, and Leven with several gentlemen of note, who had met to consult about forwarding the levies in these parts for the King's service, and were all sent prisoners to London, to keep company with the unhappy captives from Worcester. This unexpected blow, joined to the terror of Monk's success and severity, wrought such an effect every where, that no place of strength stood out against him, and in less than ten months all Scotland was reduced and bridled by his garrisons.

military

reformers turned out Dr Guild the Principal, and Mr Middleton the Sub-principal; Gilbert Rule in room of the latter, and taking the Principal's place on the Independent of Aberdeen, Mr John Row, who kept 561. Nor was this all the length. that went with his new powers. He even brandished his sword over the General Assembly itself, dissolved an ordinance, that neither the Clerk nor any other religious oath, should be on any person, without direction from the England; threatening to treat them as such, if they did not acquiesce. He likewise orders to the civil judges, not to meddle with lands or estates of such as the Assembly should communicate, nor to prohibit correspondence with them, or put them to any other trouble, as in the cruel custom hitherto. This check on arbitrary discipline of the kirk was highly pleasing to some, but as satisfactory and well-liked by others.†

The disappointed party had recourse to their power of remonstrating, and wrote to General Ker, "Confessing indeed, that they are justified for their late treaty with the King, complaining of the English army for counselling deposed ministers and allowing them the pulpit, for silencing ministers on the score

of the Laird of Drum wrote Monk a polite letter of thanks for restoring conscience to its just freedom, and rescuing people from intolerant tyranny of the Presbyteries. This gentleman had suffered much for his loyalty, being cited on a charge of Popery by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, summoned to return to appear before Colonel Overton, one of the judges, declared himself under the protection of the King of England, and refused to acknowledge any other authority.

" of

LETTER XLIX. “ of their meddling in their sermons with matters of state, for tolerating the gathering of churches as is done in England, for lessening the authority of kirk-assemblies, and putting magistrates on them of unsound principles, and concluding with an offer of compliance as far as their consciences, and the liberty of the kirk, will give them leave, and with their earnest requests to Lambert, to interpose with the other English Commissioners in their behalf.” This letter shews how differently matters went with them now, from what they did formerly. But it was of no avail : Their patron, Lambert, was indeed equal with Monk in civil authority, but Monk was possessed of the military power, and by that means had most weight in the administration. So they had no help but do the best they could, and go on with their curtailed jurisdiction, as far as people were inclined to submit to it, since they could no longer enforce it by temporal penalties upon the refractory. And Cant, who was one of the triumvirate that spread the first covenanting infection, saw it necessary now to prepare his adherents for suffering ; and to secure the dignity of the Covenant, he now began the custom of requiring a promise from parents, when they brought their children to baptism, that they should educate them in the belief of that sacred engagement, as being, in his estimation, of more consequence to the true faith, than any of the received symbols of early antiquity.

In July 1653, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh, and after sermon were beginning, as usual, to enter upon business, when Lieut. Colonel Cotterel, who commanded there under Monk, broke in upon them, and mounting a bench, made proclamation,

proclamation, " That no Judicature ought to sit, LETTER  
 " which had not authority from the Parliament of XLIX.  
 " England." This done, he ordered them to re-  
 tire, and guarded them off till they were past the  
 West Port. Then he commanded them to form  
 into a circle, and surrounding them with his  
 troops, after he had reprimanded them for the  
 presumption of their meeting, he took away their  
 commissions, and enjoined them, under severe  
 penalties to disperse, and not to meet three of  
 them together, but to quit the town immediately,  
 and repair to their respective dwellings.†

This was a severe blow to the Presbyterian Kirk  
 of Scotland, thus to have their General Assembly,  
 which had maintained its ground so long, and act-  
 ed in defiance of even sovereign authority, scatter-  
 ed like chaff, by the wind of command from a  
 petty English officer. What was become now of  
 their Loudons, and Lindseys, and Waristons, and  
 Henderfons, these daring heroes of holy chivalry,  
 who could outbrave Kings and Commissioners,  
 and combat royal edicts with bold protestations?  
 The times seem to be strangely changed, and the  
 men now in power were neither to be bullied by  
 big words, nor flattered by deceitful promises.

† Cromwell had lately been playing the same game with the  
 Parliament in England: For on the 20th of April this year,  
 he had gone to the Parliament House with his guards, and after  
 having with buffoonery and opprobrious language abused the  
 members, most of whom were his intimate acquaintances, and  
 had been his accomplices in villainy, he ordered his soldiers to  
 turn them all out with disgrace, and locked the doors. And  
 with them expired the Assembly of Divines, which had been  
 such an oracle to our Covenanters, and after ten years labour,  
 at great expence and to little purpose, except making a Creed  
 and a Catechism, had dwindled down to a scanty committee, and  
 was now dissolved with contempt,

They

LETTER  
XLIX. They had learned, from experience, the proper method of curbing unruly tempers, and it may truly be said, that Charles I. had taught Cromwell how to manage the Assemblies of the Scottish Kirk.

The usurper having now got to the height of his ambition, by being declared Lord Protector in December last, was willing to have peace and quiet, if possible, established under his newly-acquired sovereignty; and to begin his reign in the usual form, had been pleased in April this year to pass what he called an "act of grace" and pardon" to the people of Scotland.\*—About the same time the French court having entered into a treaty with him, and by their ambassador complimented him in a strain of the most fulsome and even blasphemous flattery, he made it an article, that neither the King nor his two brothers, should be harboured in any of the French dominions. And now Cromwell, elevated with the friendship of such a powerful nation, carried all before him, and by his Tryers and Major-Generals ruled over the three kingdoms, especially over Scotland, with a rod of iron.—Yet the kirk, tho' grievously restrained in their


\* Out of this act, or any of the benefits of it, are expressly excepted the Queen Dowager and her two eldest sons Charles and James Stuarts, the two deceased Dukes of Hamilton, 9 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 8 Lords, and the two Generals Dalrymple and Middleton, who are all forfeited, and their estates sequestered into the protector's coffers: Of the rest whom he pardons and allows to keep their estates, there are heavy fines laid upon the Marquis of Douglas, 20 Earls, 1 Viscount, 12 Lords and 38 inferior Barons, to the amount in whole of English money 162200 pounds, to be paid to George Bilton Treasurer at Leith, the one half on the second day of August, and the other on the second day of December, 1654. To such a miserable state of slavery and oppression was Scotland now reduced.

pub—



public judicatories, could not agree in private among themselves. The *Protesters* or *Remonstrators*, who were the party that had always insulted the King, and with the Covenant in their mouths had still cried out against having any thing to do with him at all, were perpetually contending with and harassing the *Public-Resolutioners*, who still professed to entertain some degree of affection to the King's person and cause. Many of them went even so far as to correspond with his Majesty and his friends in their exile, and endeavoured to keep up a little zeal for his service among their brethren at home. The *Remonstrators* were aware of this, and sending up a representation of the case to the Protector in 1657, for the more security deputed to that office, the famous Mr. James Guthrie preacher at Stirling, who Shimei-like had cursed the King to his face, and afterwards for his seditious behaviour was condemned in the Parliament 1661, and hanged at Stirling as a traitor. The *Resolutioners*, on the other hand, commissioned Doctor, afterwards Archbishop, Sharp, then minister of Crail in Fife, and a man of address, who thro' the influence of Lord Broghill one of the Scottish governors, wrought upon the Protector, by the description he gave him of the other party's turbulent and swelling principles, that he was favourably disposed, and his antagonist disappointed in his aim.

From this time the *Resolutioners* got the ascendant, and by a majority for the most part in the synods and presbyteries, kept the *Remonstrators* a great measure under the hatches; and this contributed not a little to the great change which was soon after brought about. For now Oliver's

LETTER XLIX.  hypocritical severity was beginning to make his ministrations odious even in England. His independent notions had opened a door to most exorbitant licentiousness in religious profession. The new Quaker light of George Fox blazed out with still more intolerable extravagance in a James Nailor at Bristol, who had the impudence to personate our Saviour, and was guilty of other hideous enormities consequent to that horrid presumption. The Socinian peculiarities too were about this time brought in England by a Mr. John Biddle, a man of good parts, and who had got his education at Oxford. In 1644 he began to vent his notions in public against the true deity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost, which Archbishop Usher in a personal conference with him in 1646, and then the Westminster synod by a decree in 1648, thought to reclaim him from, but without effect. In Clarendon's time he published several short tracts in defence of his opinions, under the shelter of the liberty of conscience which then prevailed, and makes use of the same objections and arguments both from scripture and the fathers, that were afterwards adopted by Whiston, Clarke, and other English writers of that stamp, and are now so current and fashionable among the rationalists of the present age. The old established Episcopal clergy were the chief objects of Cromwell's wrath, and to them he would never be prevailed with to grant any favour. For though he intended at first to have a more than ordinary regard for the universally esteemed Archbishop Usher and once gave him a promise to allow the Episcopal clergy a share in the common indulgence yet when the primate put him in mind of his p

mise, he told him, that "upon advising with his council, it was not thought safe to grant liberty of conscience to those men who were declared enemies to his government." And immediately he enforced his former orders against them, by which they were prohibited to manage or teach in private schools, or officiate in noblemen's or gentlemen's families, under pain of imprisonment.

ETTER  
XLIX.

These, and many such like instances of dissimulation and cruelty, which were Cromwel's two predominant qualities, by degrees united the bulk of the nation against him, after the first heat of the contagious madness was over; and the discovery of this change in peoples humours, which he was sagacious enough to find out, kept him now in a racking agony of mind, under a continual terror of plots and assassinations. So that, had his life been spared a little longer, it is more than probable, as matters were turning about, that this scourge of Britain would either have sunk back into his original obscurity, or met with the fate, which his infamous carcase was doomed to, in little more than two years, of being hanged on a gallows at Tyburn. But he died in good time, if not for his eternal, at least for his temporal interest, on the 3d of September 1658, in the 60th year of his age, and was succeeded in his ill-gotten power by his son Richard, who did not long keep possession of it. Being either not able from weakness, or not willing from principle to act the Usurper as his father had done, within a few months he resigned the protectorship, and retired to a private condition, in which he lived quietly to the uncommon age of 90, and died on the 12th of July 1712, without meeting with the



LETTER least trouble all the time, from the posterity  
 XLIX. that King whom his father had brought to  
 scaffold.\*

Upon Richard's retirement, in May 1659, General Monk, who seems to have had a peculiar affection for Cromwell, being now disengaged from any such obligation, saw himself at liberty to be a little more open in indulging his bias towards the old constitution, and tho' he still found it necessary to act with caution and reserve, yet so far as to correspond with some of the principles of the royalists, that he might take advantage of the divisions, which were now breaking out at London. The Rump-remainder of the Long Parliament, sensible of Richard's inactivity, immediately resumed the reins of government which Oliver had wrested out of their hands, and published edicts and ordinances in a very high strain. Lambert, and the other republican officers, pleased with this intended diminution of his power, erected a junto of their creatures into which they called a *Committee of Safety*, and in a few months turned the Rump out of their seat. These proceedings gave Monk a handle for appearing in support of his old masters, and, at the same time opened up to him a fair prospect of crushing Lambert, whom he had always been jealous of, as an obstruction to his designs. To this purpose in November he summoned a Convention of Estates in Scotland, and to suit the canting

\* It is said, he kept in the hall of his country-house a chest full of the many fawning and servile addresses that had presented to his father, which he used to sit upon, and tell who came to see him, that "low as his condition now was, he had beneath him the lives and fortunes of all the good people of Britain."

of the times, told them, " he had a call from LETTER XLIX.  
" God and man to march into England to settle  
" the peace there," requiring them to provide  
money for the subsistence of his troops, and to  
keep the peace of their own country in his ab-  
sence. At this meeting, sundry of the nobility,  
particularly the Earl of Glencairn, were urgent  
with Monk to declare for a free Parliament, which  
was generally understood to be the same thing as  
declaring for the King : And this application, tho'  
he seemed to take little notice of it at the time,  
yet he afterwards owned, made such an impresson  
on him, as mightily encouraged him to prosecute  
the design which he soon so happily accomplished.

On the 18th of November, Monk began his  
march towards England ; but hearing, by the way,  
that Lambert was at Newcastle with twelve  
thousand men, he stopped at Coldstream, near  
Berwick, to deliberate what was to be done.  
While he lay here, he dispatched a messenger to  
Crail, desiring Dr Sharp to come to him with all  
possible expedition, as he had something of the  
greatest importance to consult with him upon.  
When the Doctor arrived, Monk told him both  
the design and uncertainty of his undertaking, as  
he stood in doubt of the inclinations of his own  
officers, and Lambert, his avowed enemy, was in  
the neighbourhood, with a superior force. Upon  
which Sharp fell to work, and after mature weigh-  
ing what he had heard, drew up a declaration  
in Monk's name, shewing the reasons of his pre-  
sent posture, and proposed march into England.  
Which declaration, without mentioning the King  
or his interest, was so accommodated to the tem-  
pers of all the contending parties, that, being read  
next day at the head of the army, it confirmed  
them

LETTER them all in their duty and obedience to the Ge-  
 XLIX. neral: And at last reaching Lambert's head quar-  
 ters, it wrought such an effect there, that the most  
 of his men deserted him, and either joined Monk  
 or went over to Fairfax, who lay at York, and  
 corresponded with Monk.

So, on the first of January 1660, Monk entered England, with this additional supply of strength which Dr Sharp's management had procured to him, and without encountering any opposition, or discovering his intentions to any one by the way, he marched into London on the 4th of February, and took up his lodgings at Whitehall. Here he was carested and courted by all sides; and some of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland sent up Dr Sharp, whom they knew he had an esteem for, to manage their matters with him. Yet, with all this seeming command, Monk had need of all his caution and courage about him. The Rump put him upon several disagreeable employments, which he artfully executed, without any dangerous consequence to his own designs, and even got them to pass a vote, on the 23d of February, for a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of April. At the same time, he procured the releasement of the Earls of Lauderdale and Lindsay, and the rest of the King's friends, who had lien in prison many years, and were all liberated on the 3d of March; as was likewise, old Bishop Wren of Ely, who had been confined in the tower since 1645.

Thus, by playing off the Rump's artillery against themselves, and now and then shewing some favourable propensity to the other side, he by degrees brought his main point to a proper bearing. For on the 10th of March the rebellious engagement, to be true and faithful to the Common-

wealth

realth without a King or House of Lords was re-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 sealed; and on the 16th an act passed for dissolving <sup>XLIX.</sup>  
 his Parliament, which had now continued, in vari-  
 ous forms, some months more than nineteen years;  
 with a special proviso in the act, not to infringe the  
 rights of the Upper House any longer. This was in  
 effect declaring for the King, and accordingly his  
 friends, in both kingdoms, ventured now to shew  
 themselves without fear or reserve. His Majesty  
 had, in expectation of something favourable, left  
 Cologne some time ago, and was residing at Bre-  
 da in Holland, where he was publicly waited  
 upon by deputations from all parties. From Eng-  
 land the Nobility sent six, the Commons twelve,  
 and the city of London fourteen, as a committee  
 to offer him their submission. The Presbyterians  
 too of that nation deputed some of the most emi-  
 nent of their divines to catch his favour in time,  
 by endeavouring to persuade him, "that they  
 " had always, pursuant to the obligation of the  
 " Covenant, wished his Majesty very well, that  
 " they were happy to hear of his Majesty's con-  
 " stancy in the Protestant religion; that for them-  
 " selves they were no enemies to a moderate  
 " Episcopacy, and only desired not to be pressed  
 " with such things in God's worship, as by many  
 " were reckoned indifferent, and by tender con-  
 " sciences unlawful."

About the beginning of May, General Monk  
 sent over his friend Dr. Sharp to inform his Ma-  
 jesty of the state of affairs, and how successfully  
 the Royal cause every thing was going on.  
 The Doctor was graciously received on such a  
 welcome errand, and tho' he was commissioned  
 only by Monk, to whom he had been sent up  
 by but a small number of his brethren, yet in  
 many

LETTER XLIX. many conferences with the King, he took the opportunity to address his Majesty in name of the body of the ministry of the kirk of Scotland, which he said, "had persevered in her integrity and loyalty in all revolutions." The King heard all with great attention, and told the Doctor, "He would reserve a full communing about these matters till his coming to England." In one of these conferences the discourse having turned upon the divisions between the *Remonstrators* and the *Public Resolutioners*, which had so much vexed the King when he was among them; and his Majesty having asked, What should be done with these Remonstrators, the Doctor answered, "Tho' it be not fit that your Majesty give them countenance, or put power in their hands, yet I think we will all be suitors to your Majesty, that pity and pardon may be their measure." To which the King with a simile replied, "Were they in your case, they would not allow you such measure; We have sufficiently found evidence of their malice against us, I pray it may not be charged upon them." And indeed it is not to be wondered at, that the King should express himself in such a way about a set of men, whose factious principles he was so sensibly acquainted with, and who had not only insulted him with personal incivilities, but had likewise by their turbulent humours been the ruin of the best laid schemes for his success. However, to give all the general satisfaction that he could, consistently with his own sentiments, he published a declaration in Holland, "Promising liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

dom, and that he shall be ready to ratify such LETTER  
 "acts of Parliament as shall upon mature delibe- XLIX.  
 "ration be offered to him, for the full granting  
 "that indulgence." This was going as far as  
 could reasonably be desired in his present situation,  
 and could not but give content to all who wished  
 to see peace and quiet once more restored to the  
 troubled land. Accordingly the Convention-Par-  
 liament having in consequence of the former vote  
 met at Westminster on the 25th of April, and set-  
 tled the necessary preliminaries, the King was so-  
 lemnly proclaimed in presence of both Houses on  
 the 8th of May, and on the 10th a day of public  
 thanksgiving was joyfully observed in London,  
 and the Common-prayer again read before the  
 Lords. And now, every thing being thus got  
 ready, his Majesty embarked for England on the  
 13d of May, was met at Dover on the 25th by  
 General Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and  
 on the 29th, being his birthday, when he was  
 complete 30 years of age, made a magnificent en-  
 try into London, amidst the loud acclamations of  
 his rejoicing subjects.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L.

## L E T T E R L.

*Effect of the King's Restoration on the Church of England—State of Affairs in Scotland—Acts of Parliament during the Usurpation rescinded—Patronages restored—Loyal Address from the Synod of Aberdeen—General Desire of Episcopacy—Four Scottish Bishops consecrated at London—Restoration of Episcopacy confirmed by Parliament—Various Acts against the Covenants, and in favour of Episcopal Government.*

A.D. 1660. **O**N the happy restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, the church of England immediately revived, and recovered the splendour of her former legal settlement. Nine of her Bishops had survived the late calamities, of whom the worthy Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, who had attended the late King on the scaffold, was preferred to the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant since Laud's death. The other eight took possession of their former sees, and the rest of

of the Bishopricks were soon regularly filled with **LETT**  
 learned and able Prelates. The King too, in terms **L.**  
 of his declaration, desired a conference between  
 a select number of Episcopal clergy and Presby-  
 terian divines, which was accordingly begun at  
 the Savoy on the 25th of March next year, but  
 broke up as usual, without any accommodation.  
 Only, to remove some trivial objections made by  
 the Presbyterian Dr. Reynolds, who afterwards  
 accepted a Bishoprick, the Common Prayer was  
 reviewed, and amended in some few improprieties  
 of language, and with the addition of some gene-  
 ral prayers was brought to the form in which it  
 has remained ever since.\*

\* On this occasion Mr. Robert Baillie expresses his disap-  
 pointment, in a letter of January 31st 1661—"But as nothing  
 is perfectly blessed on earth, some water was quickly poured in  
 the wine of many: I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a  
 sharp and free letter to Lauderdale. Bishops and liturgies  
 were every where set up in England and Ireland without con-  
 tradiction, our league and covenant by a number of printed  
 pamphlets was torn to pieces. This was the more grievous,  
 that at the beginning it appeared most easy to have been reme-  
 lied. His gracious Majesty was ready to have been advised  
 by his parliament. The leading men there were avowed co-  
 venanters and presbyterians. Lauderdale and Mr. Sharp, both  
 at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear.—  
 Monk was for us in that at the beginning, firm enough. The  
 Queen and her party was on our side. The Episcopal men  
 were sundry of them as evil as before: Bramhall, Wren,  
 Heylin, Thorndike, Cosins, Sydserf, Hammond, Pierce, none  
 of the best or most orthodox: Juxon and Duppa smally learn-  
 ed: Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wise men. But  
 the overturning of all the reformation of England without a  
 contrary petition, to me was strange, and very grievous, and I  
 suspect we know not yet the bottom of that mystery. I wish  
 all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faith-  
 ful; sure they have not been so prudent and industrious as I  
 think they should have been.' From this account it appears  
 that the "Queen and the papists were on the side of the co-



LETTER

L.




But in Scotland, tho' the civil establishment quickly and without noise followed the English example, in owning the restoration of their exiled King, yet the affairs of the church were not so smoothly and speedily resettled. The Presbyterians here had long been the prevailing party.— Their two covenants had seduced most of the people either by persuasion or terror, and the shattered remains of the Episcopal church had been more cruelly persecuted by the Scotch Covenanters, than the English clergy had been even by Cromwell and his independents. Our Bishops had been early driven away by repeated threats and acts of barbarity, and all of them except one had died before the late King. Of the leading men of the nation; some were still attached to their old engagements in favour of Presbytery, and others were afraid to appear too forward in pushing a change, as being uncertain from present circumstances what might be the event, and unwilling from past experience to risque the resentment of former oppressors. Indeed the rupture between the *Remonstrators* and *Resolutioners* had done much hurt to the common cause, and weakened both their power and influence to a great degree. The *Resolutioners* were those whom the King favoured most, as being more moderate and pacific than the others, tho' it was not to be thought that either party, while adhering to their covenanting principles, could claim or expect much favour from him.

When the King returned, Dr. Sharp came over to London about the same time, and was employed by his former constituents to manage their

\* venanters :” And we see our own Bishop Sydserf classed with some of the greatest names that the church of England boasts of.

caul

court. In the course of this employ-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 informed them from time to time, how <sup>L.</sup>  
 ere going on in England, and what little   
 ere was of continuing a kirk settlement  
 d upon the plan of the Covenant. The  
 ans too in England wrote to the bre-  
 , under direction to Mr. Robert Doug-  
 hers at Edinburgh, giving an account  
 wn straitened situation, and after a mix-  
 ngratulations and sighs they tell them, <sup>Aug. 10.</sup>  
 neral stream and current here is for the <sup>1662.</sup>  
 elacy in all its pomp and height: And  
 re it cannot be hoped for, that the Pres-  
 l government will be owned as the pub-  
 lishment of this nation, while the tide  
 strongly the other way, and the bare  
 on of it will certainly produce a mischief,  
 Papists, and sectaries of all sorts, will  
 hemselfes under cover of such a favour :  
 ore, no course seemeth likely to us to  
 eligion and the interests of Christ Jesus  
 rd, but by making Presbytery a part of  
 blic establishment, which cannot be ef-  
 but by moderating and reducing Episco-  
 , the form of synodical government, and  
 ual condescendence of both parties in  
 offer things, which come within the lati-  
 f allowable differences in the church.  
 all we can at present hope for, and if we  
 obtain it, should account it a mercy, and  
 ft expedient to ease his Majesty in his  
 lificulties about the matters of religion :  
 ve hope, none that fear God, and seek  
 ice of Zion, will interpret this to be any  
 rfation from our principles, or apostacy  
 ie Covenant."

Of

R Of the same date, the King directs a letter, fupersigned by himself, and subscribed Lauderdale, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which, among other things, he says, " We do also resolve to  
 " protect and preserve the government of the  
 " Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the due  
 " exercise of their functions, all those ministers  
 " who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becometh men of their calling. And  
 " we do expect, that Church Judicatories in Scotland, and Ministers there, will keep within the  
 " compass of their station, meddling only with  
 " matters ecclesiastical, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects, against  
 " all opposers," &c. Dr Sharp was the bearer of both these letters, and with them he delivered up his commission to his employers, from whom he never received any other trust of any kind.

While the business of the church was thus under deliberation, the Committee, which had been appointed by the King's last Parliament at Stirling, in 1651, met on the 23d of August, to prepare matters for the Parliament; and, by the King's order, the Earl of Glencairn presided in it. This convention, among other things, gave orders to apprehend ten or twelve ministers of the *Remonstrator* party, who had met at Edinburgh, and had drawn up a new remonstrance, putting the King in mind of the Covenant, which he had solemnly sworn when he was among them, and declining his having any power or authority in the government of the church. The Committee likewise summoned sundry suspected persons to appear before them, and find bail for their answering in next Parliament, and among the rest, the  
 aff

assembly clerk, Johnston of Wariston, who fear-  
 ing the worst, as indeed he had good cause, wisely  
 kept out of the way, and was declared fugitive. LETTER L.

On the first of January 1661, the Parliament  
 sat down at Edinburgh, General Middleton, now  
 created Earl of Middleton, being appointed High  
 Commissioner, and the Earl of Glencairn, Chan-  
 cellor, in the room of the Earl of Loudon.—  
 Among the first transactions of this Parliament,  
 was a declaration, “ that there is no obligation  
 “ upon Scotland, by covenant, treaty or otherwise,  
 “ to endeavour by arms a reformation in England,  
 “ or to meddle with the administration of that  
 “ kingdom : And expressly inhibiting all his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s subjects from presuming, upon any pre-  
 “ text whatever, to require the renewing or swear-  
 “ ing the Solemn League and Covenant, or any  
 “ other covenants or public oaths, concerning the  
 “ government of church or state, without his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s special warrant and approbation.” But  
 the great blow given to the covenanted cause, was  
 by the Rescissory Act, as it is called, which passed  
 on the 28th of March, ‘ Rescinding and annulling  
 ‘ all the pretended Parliaments from the year 1638  
 ‘ to this time, because of the force and violence  
 ‘ the Sovereign was under all the while.’ The  
 Treasurer, Lindsay, now become Earl of Craw-  
 ford, (by the death of Lodowick, the loyal Earl  
 of Crawford, without male-issue) strenuously op-  
 posed this act, and argued long and keenly upon  
 the point, especially in support of their favourite  
 Parliament in 1641, where the late King was pre-  
 sent in person ; pleading, ‘ That to annul a Par-  
 ‘ liament was a terrible precedent, and destroyed  
 ‘ the whole security of government : That another  
 ‘ Parliament might annul the present Parliament,

LETTER ' as well as this one could execute what was now  
 L. ' proposed: So no stop could be made, nor any  
 ~~~~~ ' certainty of fixing things for the future.\* Not-  
 withstanding of this opposition, the act passed by
 a great majority; and thereby, the government
 of both church and state was again set upon the
 same footing that it had been on, when the late
 troubles began. The church was brought back
 to that 'settlement by law,' which the King had
 in his eye in his letter of August last: And the
 several patrons of benefices were restored to their
 legal rights of presentation, which had been wrest-
 ed from them by the violent practice of the cove-
 nanters, and that practice authorised by a packed
 convention after the murder of the King in 1649.
 In consequence of which the Parliament, looking
 on the patrons as in full possession of their rights,
 made an act in this first session, directing, "all
 " patrons in all time coming to be careful that
 " they grant presentations only to such as shall
 " have given sufficient evidence of their piety,
 " loyalty, literature and peaceable disposition, and
 " who shall take the oath of allegiance before they
 " receive the presentation." The act further nar-
 rates, that his Majesty had already begun to exer-
 cise his right by granting commission under the
 great seal, about presentation to benefices and kirks
 of his Majesty's patronage.

* This was specious declamation. But his Lordship might have looked back and remembered a General Assembly, his dear convention of 1638, which had rescinded and annulled all the prior assemblies, and even some parliaments too of 30 years standing; and in which he himself had been eminently active and fierce, even in contempt of authority, in carrying thro' the "Terrible Precedent," which he is now so eloquent against when it had indisputable authority on its side.

The

The passing of these acts so early, and so easily, as highly agreeable to the wiser part of the nation, and by taking off these intermediate encroachments of usurpation and injustice, gave a freedom to many of the ministers to discover the sentiments which they had been so long obliged to conceal, and to express their desire of and tendency towards more orderly scheme of government than they had been under for some time. The Synod of Aberdeen in particular openly declared themselves, and drew up "an humble address to his Majesty's high Commissioner, and the high court of Parliament," in which, after a general acknowledgment of the "national guiltiness of Scotland in the sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs put upon Royal authority, whether during the reign of our late most gracious Sovereign that blessed martyr Charles the first, or since his horrid murder, to our gracious King who now in the Lord's most wonderful providence reigns over us," they come to a particular enumeration, and say: "Particularly we acknowledge these sad and grievous sins to be lying upon the land, namely, the rising in arms against the King, and preaching up the lawfulness of defensive arms, by subjects against the supreme Majesty, which is contrary to scripture, to all sound antiquity, to the constant practice of the primitive church, to the judgment of all orthodox divines, to our own national confession of faith, and to the oath of allegiance: Popular reformation without, much more against the King's special consent and authority: Assisting the King's enemies by joining our forces with them when in rebellion against him: Preaching down the King's cause and interest, and giving out a paper called a "Seasona-

LETTER
L.

ER ' ble warning for delivering up the King at Newcastle : ' Preaching against the relief of his Majesty, of precious memory, when he was a suffering prisoner in the Isle of Wight, where ' was detained till the usurpers brought him the fatal block : Putting unjust limitations and ' restrictions upon our gracious King, who now ' by God's blessing, reigns over us in despite of all ' open or veiled enemies, who of late have put on ' the robe of loyalty, besides the many indignities ' put upon his sacred person by a factious and ' treacherous party in an infamous and treasonable remonstrance : The opposition made by ' these remonstrators to the public resolutions of ' both King, Church and State for the just defence of the King, religion, honour, and all that ' was dear to men and christians, when the land ' was invaded, and a great part of it possessed by ' an army of sectaries from England : Excluding ' the King's interest out of the state of the quarrel ' between his Majesty's own army and that of the ' per and tyrant Oliver Cromwell, by that infamous act of the West-kirk : Forcing the King ' Majesty being then in their power, rather as a ' ble prisoner than a free King, sore against him ' to subscribe declarations against himself and ' Royal Family : the little sympathy with his ' Majesty in his sufferings abroad : The sinful refusal ' of duty, for fear of men, in not praying for ' in public : sinful silence in not preaching ' fully against the usurpers : Too much ' compliance with them, sitting down like ' under the burden, and being like Ephraim ' filly dove without a heart, &c. We do therefore ' conceive that now God calls us to engage ' we do hereby in the strength of God engage


es never to be accessory to any disloyal prin-LETTER
 e or practice, but to preach subjection, obe- L.
 ice and submission, and to press the same ~~~~~
 n the word of God upon all under our minis-
 : And since it hath pleased the King's Ma-
 and his high court of Parliament, because
 re over-reaching of many ministers in Scot-
 l, and their outstretching of Presbyterial go-
 ument into civil concernments, to take away
 rescind all laws and acts whereby the go-
 ument of this church had any civil authority ;
 it, therefore please the commissioner's Grace
 the high court of Parliament to join with
 a this our earnest petition, and to transmit the
 : to his sacred Majesty, that he will allow
 o be still under his protection, and that he
 be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to
 e the government of this rent church accord-
 o the word of God, and the practice of the
 ent primitive church, in such a way as may
 oost consistent with Royal authority, and may
 luce most for godliness, unity, peace and or-
 and for a learned, godly, peaceable and
 l ministry, that shall be capable and willing
 reserve the peace of the three nations. This
 r we have ordained to be registered in our
 d-books of Aberdeen, *ad futuram rei memori-*
 and in testimony of our unanimity herein,
 have all subscribed it with our hands, at
 g's College, this 18th day of April, 1661
 s.* This address, from so numerous a fy-

is signed by Alexander Ross minister of Monimusk, Mo-
 , and other 52 from the different Presbyteries within the
 of whom three were afterwards advanced to the episco-
 r. Arthur Ross at Kinnerny, Mr. John Paterson at Aber-
 and his son of the same name at Ellon, and a fourth, Mr.

LETTER nod, deserves to be taken notice of, as it so pathetically, and by way of historical narrative, describes the sad destructions of the late unhappy times; and we need not doubt but that, coming from such a respectable body, it would have a good deal of influence.

Soon after this, the Parliament wrote a most dutiful letter to the King, and sent up the chancellor Glencairn, and Rothes president of the privy council, to present it, and give his Majesty a full account of their proceedings, and of the state of affairs in Scotland. Along with them went Dr. Sharp, whom last year the King had named one of his chaplains for Scotland, with a pension of 200*l.* sterling, and now called up to court for his advice about the settlement of the church.—The King himself, who still consulted with Scotchmen, and with them only, about Scottish affairs, always declared it to be his own opinion, that, as the government of the state was Monarchy, so that of the church should be Episcopacy. In this opinion the most of the Royalists now joined; and when the Chancellor and Dr. Sharp went to London, they represented to the King that, whatever might have been the case before, the violent proceedings of the Presbyterians of late had made such an alteration in peoples tempers, that the greater and honefter part of the nation would now be found desirous of episcopacy. The synod of Aberdeen, they said, had as good as petitioned for it, and many others earnestly wished it, tho' the past they had taken in the late troubles made it not so nor decent for them to move too much in it

George Meldrum at Aberdeen, turned out on a change of time to be one of the bitterest enemies that the Episcopal church has
An

press the matter home, Dr. Sharp assured **LETTER**
 ing, that none but the *Remonstrators*, whom **L.**
 jefty knew too well, would be against it, 
 the *Resolutioners*, who were by far the most
 ous, not twenty would oppose it. Besides
 , the intended change was much urged and
 led by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor
 land, and by the Duke of Ormond, Lord
 ant of Ireland, two as good subjects and
 Counsellors as the King had.

r all this previous consultation, the busi-
 is in end formally proposed in a Scots coun-
 Whitehall, where the newly created Duke
 nilton, who had married the first Duke's
 daughter, and Sir Robert Murray, the first
 nt of the lately erected Royal Society, were
 or delaying a final decision, till the King
 rther satisfied about the inclinations of the

But the Earls of Crawford and Lauder-
 wo noted Presbyterians, tho' both of them
 office under the Crown, openly declared
 it.* However, the result of all was, that a
 ould be written to the privy council of
 id, intimating the King's intentions for re-
 episcopacy, and demanding their advice
 it. The chancellor Glencairn brought
 this letter, and ordered it to be read the first
 at the council met, when after some scrupu-
 bjections by the Earl of Kincardine alone,

e writer of Archbishop Sharp's life tells us, that Lan-
 coming out from the council, and meeting the doctor
 with the Earl of Stirling, said to him with an austere
 d threatening gesture, " Mr. Sharp, Bishops you are to
 n Scotland, and you are to be Archbishop of St. An-
 : But whoever shall be the man, by G---d I will smite
 and his order below the fifth rib."

about

LETTER about people's humours, and the hazard of being
 L. too hasty, it was unanimously resolved to concur
 with his Majesty's intentions, and a proclamation
 was issued, declaring it to be "his Majesty's pleasure
 "sure to restore the government of the church
 "by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood settled
 "in the year 1637."

By this time, Dr Sharp was returned from London, about the end of August, with instructions from the King, and offers to some of the leading men among the ministers, particularly to Mr Robert Douglas, who, tho' he declined the King's offers himself, because of his age, and having dipped so far in the oaths and public concerns of the late times, yet told Mr Sharp, that "if he who was young, and lay not under such engagements, could comply, he neither could nor would blame him." Accordingly, in November, Dr Sharp was called up again to London, as were likewise Mr Andrew Fairfowl, minister at Dunse; Mr James Hamilton at Cambusnethan; and Mr Robert Leighton at Newbottle; all of whom his Majesty had made choice of, either from personal knowledge, or sufficient recommendation. These four were all consecrated, as was done in 1610, and for the same reasons that occurred then, by the Bishop of Winchester and two other English Bishops, and were nominated by the King to the following Sees; Sharp to St. Andrews, Fairfowl to Glasgow, Hamilton to Galloway, and Leighton to Dunblain. The dates of their consecrations are differently related, and seem to have been at different times: Only they would appear to have been all performed some time in 1661: For there is a proclamation from the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 9th of

1662, discharging all ecclesiastical meetings LETTER
 yteries and Synods, till they should be L.
 d for that purpose by the Archbishops and ~~~~~

concurrence of circumstances, which could
 be guarded against, had reduced our
 to the necessity of thus applying to England
 time for assistance. Our Bishops had
 ced, by the fury of the first covenant, to
 tuary in different parts of England, where
 ; indeed promised them his protection, but
 me time, signified to them his desire, that
 old hold no meetings, nor enter into any
 ical consultation, for fear of irritating the
 tents at home. The Bishops, therefore,
 think it prudent, by any step that might
 n called premature, to obstruct the pacific
 f a Sovereign, who, they knew, wished
 ll, and under all the hurtful concessions
 been wrung from him, still retained an
 ate regard for them and their order. In
 e of suspense and expectation, and before
 y's power was wholly broken, they all,
 ne, died, without having had time, or in
 ation thinking it incumbent on them, to
 for the Episcopal Succession. On the
 nd, the English Bishops, besides that they
 t so harassed in their persons as ours had
 ad the advantage of being a more numer-
 y ; as we have seen, that though, in the
 the usurpation, death had taken away as
 umber of them as all the Bishops of Scot-
 ae to, there were still nine of them pre-
 o refettle their own church, and to rebuild

This

LETTER This restoration of Episcopacy, thus begun
L. upon mature advice, and after long deliberation,
 was confirmed in the next Session of Parliament
 which sat down on the 8th of May 1662, and of
 which the very first act runs thus: 'Forasmuch
 ' as the ordering and disposal of the external go-
 ' vernment and policy of the church doth properl-
 ' belong to his Majesty, as an inherent right of
 ' the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative
 ' and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical,' and then,
 proceeding in the narrative, to mention the inju-
 stices and exorbitancies occasioned by throwing off
 the Bishops and Episcopal Government, which,
 they say, they find 'to be the church governmen-
 ' most agreeable to the word of God, most con-
 ' venient and effectual for the preservation of
 ' truth, order, and unity, and most suitable to
 ' monarchy, and to the peace and order of the
 ' state;' the enacting part is in these terms,
 'Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent
 ' of his Estates of Parliament, hath thought ne-
 ' cessary, and accordingly doth hereby redinte-
 ' grate the state of Bishops to their ancient places,
 ' and undoubted privileges and jurisdictions, and
 ' doth hereby restore them to the exercise of their
 ' Episcopal Function, Presidency in the Church,
 ' Power of Ordination, Inflicting of Church Cen-
 ' sures, and all other acts of church discipline,
 ' which they are to perform, with the advice and
 ' assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find
 ' to be of known loyalty and prudence:' And by
 another clause of this act, it is declared, that
 'Whatever shall be determined by his Majesty
 ' with the advice of the Archbishops and Bishops
 ' and such of the clergy as shall be nominated by
 ' his Majesty, in the external government and po-
 licy

' licy of the church, shall be valid and effectual ;' LETTER
 that is, shall have the force of a law of the land, L.
 which no deed can have without the King's con- ~
 currence.*

In consequence of this act, Episcopacy was again made the legal church-establishment in Scotland, after a tumultuous interruption of twenty four years. The four lately consecrated Bishops now took possession of their destined sees, and the other ten Bishopricks were soon filled with proper persons, by canonical consecration from their hands. The see of Edinburgh was given to the worthy Dr. Wislhart, one of the old ministers of South-Leith, who had been deprived and imprisoned for his opposition to the first Covenant, but was liberated by Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth, and getting beyond sea attended the gallant Marquis as his Chaplain. The see of Aberdeen was conferred on another sufferer, Mr. David Mitchel, who had

* This Act of Parliament has been the subject of much sneer and obloquy from the Presbyterian Party, who exclaim against it as a sacrilegious encroachment upon the intrinsic powers of the church, and ridicule the Episcopal Clergy as betrayers of the cause of Christ, by their submitting to it, and thus, they say, building their ecclesiastical fabric upon such an Erastian foundation. Yet, any one may see, that the act gives the church no new rights, nor meddles in the least with any of her intrinsic or inherent powers : It only restores to her what had been sacrilegiously taken from her by violence and injustice, and removes the effects of illegal usurpation, in order to make room for the re-establishment of the old Episcopal Government and Policy. Besides, the cry of Erastianism comes but awkwardly from those who lay so much stress on the famous Westminster assembly of divines and laymen, which was originally called, and progressively directed and controuled in all their consultations, not by King and Parliament indeed, but by a Parliament without and against King, which gave them all their orders, and exercised an ecclesiastical supremacy with as Erastian a hand as any King ever pretended to.

a been minister in Edinburgh, but was deposed
 by the Assembly of 1638, for reading the Service-
 book, and forced to flee into England for his life.
 The Commissioner Middleton got his own parish-
 minister of Fettercairn, Mr. David Strachan, nomi-
 nated to the see of Brechin, and Mr. David
 Fletcher minister at Melrofs, to the see of Argyle.
 Mr. John Paterson at Aberdeen, who had indeed
 after much hesitation subscribed the solemn league
 but was still a quiet peaceable man, was made
 Bishop of Ross, and Mr. Patrick Forbes, the loyal
 and orthodox son of a turbulent father Forbes of
 Alford, Bishop of Caithness, both on Archbishop
 Sharp's recommendation. Mr. George Halibur-
 ton minister at Perth, who had been harassed by
 his brethren, but protected by friends, was pre-
 ferred to Dunkeld, and Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie
 minister at Elgin, once a rigid covenanter, to Mor-
 ray. The see of the Isles was given to Mr. Robert
 Wallace, minister at Barnwell in the shire of Ayr,
 and old Bishop Sydserv was translated to Orkney.†

† It may appear strange that this man, being the only sur-
 vivor of the Episcopal order before the troubles, and one too who
 seems to have been a particular butt of the covenanters malice,
 was not advanced to the primacy, or at least restored to his
 former see of Galloway. But when we consider, that by this
 time he would probably be an old man (he died the next year)
 and had been much out of the country for many years, so that he
 must have been in a great measure a stranger to many of the
 tempers, and most of the persons now upon the stage, and con-
 sequently not so fit to manage the public concerns of the church
 at such a critical juncture, nor even to deal properly with
 cross humours that prevailed in these western parts, we shall
 rather be inclined to conclude, that whoever were the ad-
 visors or disposers of these allotments, had best consulted the good
 of the church by placing a pilot of Dr. Sharp's tak-
 ing the helm, who by former acquaintance could gain up
 peaceable, and by his activity check the troublesome par-
 tial malecontents.

LETTER
L.

But this legal settlement was not the only service that this Parliament did to the episcopal church : For to secure her against the pernicious effects of private covenantings, which she had so severely smarted under already, an act was passed this session, requiring all persons in public trust or office to sign a declaration, “ That it is unlawful in subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or on any pretence whatever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the King or those commissioned by him : That particularly these two oaths commonly called the *National Covenant* begun in 1638, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* in 1643, were and are in themselves unlawful oaths, taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same : And that there lieth no obligation on me or any other subject, from these oaths, to endeavour any change or alteration of the government either in church or state, as it is now established by the laws of this kingdom.” The English parliament had gone before ours in this business : For in May last year they made an order for burning the *Solemn League and Covenant* by the hands of the hangman, which was executed accordingly on the 22d in London, and soon after over all England. And no wonder that both nations should thus join in testifying their abhorrence of that hypocritical bond of iniquity, which, tho’ in a fit of enthusiastic madness they had been decoyed into, under a mask of superior godliness, they had both seen and felt the dismal fruits of, in a torrent of blood and desolation, from which nothing but the merciful hand of God could have in such a gentle but wonderful manner delivered them. Yet

LETTER this national testimony against it did not give universal satisfaction. For some of the most rigorous of the covenant went out of office, rather than sign the declaration, which they detested as a renouncing their sacred vows; and among the rest the treasurer Crawford resigned the white staff, and Sir James Dalrymple of Stair gave up his place of a Lord of session, but was afterwards reconciled to the declaration, and kept his post till he saw a change of times appearing more to his mind.

Besides this act against the covenants, our parliament in this session took under consideration, another matter of church concern, with a view to insure the regularity and due subordination of the inferior ministry in time coming. It appeared that a great many kirks and benefices were possessed by incumbents, who had intruded themselves into them, either by main force in the days of their power, or under colour of the pretended law of 1649, and still drew the rents and profits of them, in manifest violation of the standing rights of patronage, and to the detriment of both King and subject. To remedy this injury, an act passed about the middle of May in these terms;

‘ The King’s most excellent Majesty, considering
 ‘ that, notwithstanding the right of patronages
 ‘ be duly settled and established by the ancient
 ‘ and fundamental laws and constitutions of this
 ‘ kingdom, yet divers ministers of this church
 ‘ have and do possess benefices and stipends in
 ‘ their respective cures, without any right or presentation to the same from the patrons; and
 ‘ it being therefore most just that the lawful
 ‘ and undoubted Patrons of Kirks be restored to the possession of the right of their respective advocations, donations and patronages:
 ‘ There-

Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of **LETTER**
his estates of Parliament, doth statute and or- **L.**
dain, that all these ministers who entered to the
cure of any parish in burgh or land within this
kingdom, in or since the year 1649, when the
patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of
their patronages. have no right unto, nor shall
receive, uplift, nor possess the rents of any be-
nefice, modified stipends, manse or glebe for this
present crop 1662, nor any year following, but
their places, benefices and kirks are *ipso jure*
vacant : Yet his Majesty, to evidence his willing-
ness to pass by and cover the miscarriages of
his people, doth with advice foresaid declare,
that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of
these ministers in what they have possessed or
is due to them since their admission, and that
every such minister who shall obtain a presen-
tation from the lawful patron, and have colla-
tion from the Bishop of the diocese where he
liveth, betwixt and the 20th day of September
next to come, shall thenceforth have right to
and enjoy his kirk, benefice, manse and glebe,
as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully
presented and admitted thereto at his first entry,
or as any minister within the kingdom doth or
may do : And for that end it is hereby ordain-
ed, that the respective patrons shall give presen-
tations to all the present incumbents who shall
in due time make application to them for the
same. And in case any of these kirks shall not
be thus duly provided for before the said 20th
of September, then the patron shall have free-
dom to present another betwixt and the 20th
day of March 1663, which if he shall refuse or
neglect, the presentation shall then fall to the
Bishop *jure devoluto*, according to former laws.
And

LETTER ' And sicklike his Majesty, with advice foresaid, :
 L. ' doth statute and ordain the Archbishops and Bi-
 shops to have power of new admission and colla-
 tion to all such kirks and benefices as belong to
 their respective sees, and which have vaiked
 since the year 1637, and to be careful to plan-
 and provide these their own kirks conform to
 this act."


I have set down this famous statute at full length, as it was attended with important consequences. Such of the incumbents as were willing to comply with the act, which most in the North-country were, and had received Episcopal ordination were readily admitted on their timely application to the patron and Bishop for their respective authorities. Others who had entered with orders only from the Presbyteries, or as some did, at their own hands, without any formal ordination at all, either were ordained anew by the Bishops, which mightily offended the outstanders; or where circumstances appeared favourable, were received on their submission and swearing canonical obedience to the Bishop, and by him empowered to exercise the office and function of Presbyters in the church, according to the present constitution. But in the South and West, the most of these illegal intruders being men of the most rigid stamp, and either suspecting the malignancy of the patrons, or not willing to come under any dependence upon Bishops whom their Covenants had abjured, turned obstinate, and refused to take the benefit of the act by the time prefixed. And therefore the privy-council, meeting at Glasgow after the term was expired, in pursuance of the design of the act of Parliament, made an act declaring such kirks *ipso facto* vacant, and requiring th

to be planted anew before the 20th of March, in **LETTER**
terms of the statute.

Immediately upon the publication of this act of **L.**
council, these men did not wait a legal execution
of ejection, but of themselves forbore the exer-
cise of their ministry, and deserted their flocks :
And this, it was thought, they did out of a pre-
sumptuous conceit that the church could not be
served without them, and that ere long the admi-
nistration would be obliged to yield to them, and
even court them to return to their charges. But
they were mistaken, and several of them did in-
stead blame themselves, and were blamed by the
more judicious of their party, for being so unrea-
sonably stiff, or so foolishly tame, in throwing up
their kirks without something of their wonted
opposition. However they bawled out, as their
successors do to this day, against the arbitrary
cruelty of this Act of Glasgow, as it is called, for-
getting, in the mean time, their own many acts
at Glasgow, twenty four years before, which were
equally cruel, and far more unjust, than what was
done at this time. For with what little shew of
either reason or equity they made, or make, such
tragical exclamations, will readily appear from
the act itself. The Parliament meddles not with
their ministerial character, either as Presbyterians,
or of any other denomination : It only declares,
what was matter of fact, that they had taken and
were keeping possession of houses, and lands, and
rents, which certainly are matters of parliamentary
cognizance, without any just title, and in open
violation of another party's rights ; and at the
same time, by an extraordinary and unmerited
act of royal clemency, it puts them in an easy way
of legally keeping hold of what they had illegally
seized.

LETTER feized. If they could not, or would not, comply
L. with the prescribed terms of making out a just
 title, they were in no better condition than robbers, as it were, of a wrecked ship, and the wisdom of the nation, when providing for a general restoration of property and privilege, could not in justice deviate from the intended plan, to please the humours or consciences of a few particular malecontents.

It happened unluckily too, that our outlander here had before their eyes the example of their Presbyterian brethren in England, who had been by the Parliament of that nation, laid under the same restrictions, and required to comply with the enjoined terms before St. Bartholomew's day of this year, which many of them had refused, and in consequence were now ejected. This conjunction in suffering, as it was called, upon the same principles, and happening much about one time mutually fostered the surly humour in both nations and gave additional strength to the disaffected party in Scotland. Yet our administration went on leisurely indeed, but by regular steps, in prosecution of the measures which had been adopted. For in the third Session of this Parliament, which began on the 18th of June 1663, and where the Earl of Rothes was Commissioner, in place of the Earl of Middleton, the Lords of the Articles, who had been a standing branch of our parliamentary constitution, but dissolved in the late confusions were now restored, and the Bishops again appointed to be an essential part of that preparatory Committee. At the same time, an order was made for regulating the meetings of the national Synod, or, as it is called in England, the Convocation of the Church of Scotland; and an act passed, 'That
 ' this

' this Synod shall consist of the two Archbishops **LETTER**
 ' and their Suffragans, all the Deans and Arch- **L.**
 ' deacons, the fixed Moderators, along with one 
 ' Minister of every Presbytery, and one Commis-
 ' sioner from each of the four Universities : That
 ' the Synod, thus constituted, is to meet at such
 ' places and times as his Majesty by proclamation
 ' shall appoint, and is to debate, treat, consider,
 ' consult, conclude, and determine upon such
 ' pious matters, causes, and things, concerning
 ' the doctrine, worship, discipline, and govern-
 ' ment of this church, as his Majesty shall, from
 ' time to time, under his royal hand, deliver, or
 ' cause to be delivered, to the Archbishop of St.
 ' Andrews, President of the said National Assem-
 ' bly, to be by him offered to their consideration :
 ' That unless his Majesty or his Commissioner be
 ' present, no national assembly can be held : And
 ' that no act, canon, order, or ordinance, shall
 ' be owned as an act of the national Synod of the
 ' Church of Scotland, but such as shall have been
 ' considered, consulted, and agreed upon by the
 ' President and major part of the members above
 ' specified.'

I am, &c,

L E T T E R L I .

Account of the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of the Scottish Church after the Restoration—Insurrections among the Covenanters—Indulgences granted—Assertory Act passed—Effects of both—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Account of the Test Oath—And of the Rye House Plot—Death of Charles II.

WE have now seen the Scottish Church once more favoured with a legal establishment, and put in possession of all those privileges which might assist her as an important branch of civil society, in preserving peace, order, and regularity, among all the members of that society. By the care and cautious management of the Bishops, the Episcopal Government soon became generally acceptable, and was for the most part cheerfully submitted to by the people.† All the moderate

* Even Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, who knew them well, as having been many years professor of divinity at Glasgow under their government, in his preface to the life of the worthy Irish Presbyterian,

Presbyterians, even Mr Robert Douglas himself, LETTER:
LL
 once such an eminent promoter of their cause, attended the Episcopal worship and communion in the parish kirks. For hitherto, there was no external badge of distinction between the two parties, either in faith, worship, or discipline. The old Confession of Faith, drawn up by our first reformers, and ratified in 1567, had all along been the received standard of doctrine to both, tho' the Presbyterians had of late introduced the Westminster Confession, in many points different from it, and in some even contrary to it. There was no liturgy, or appointed form of prayer in the public worship, the late opposition having discouraged any new attempt that way. Many, indeed, of the Episcopal clergy compiled forms to be used by themselves in their particular congregations, with some petitions and collects taken out of the English Book; and all of them uniformly concluded their prayers with the Lord's Prayer, and their singing with the Doxology, both which the zealots of the other side decried, as superstitious and formal. The two sacraments were administered by both mostly in the same manner, without kneeling at the one, or signing with the sign of the cross in the other; only in baptism, the Episcopal clergy required the Apostles' Creed, and the Presbyterians, in general, the Westminster Confession, and some

Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, speaks well of all our Scottish Bishops whom he was particularly acquainted with, 'as having, he says, observed among them as great and exemplary things as are to be met with in all ecclesiastical history.' And tho' in some of his other writings he appears to have changed his sentiments, and sets them out in a less favourable light, this may be as much owing to the new run of political principles which he had begun to imbibe, and was afterwards so conspicuous for, as to any demerits in the men, or real mistake in their conduct.

LETTER of the more rigid of them, the Solemn League and
 LI. Covenant, to be the model of the child's religious
 education. And then, with regard to discipline, the establishment had their Kirk Sessions, as the Presbyterians have at present; they had their Presbyteries, where some experienced minister, of the Bishop's nomination, was moderator; they had their Diocesan Synods, in which the Bishop of the Diocese in person, or one by his express appointment, presided; and they might have had their National Synods or General Assemblies too, under certain regulations, if the King had found it proper either to call or allow them. And that the King, or supreme Magistrate, has power to allow or prohibit conventions of the lieges, as to him shall seem expedient, must be acknowledged by all who respect the prerogatives of Majesty, or the necessary powers of government.

No doubt, in the primitive church of the three first centuries, the neighbouring Bishops often met together, and consulted among themselves, about the common interests of religion, by virtue of the purely spiritual powers committed to them. But between that old ecclesiastical constitution, and the times we are speaking of, there could not but be a considerable difference in point of external polity, as it will be acknowledged, that the protection and encouragement given by the civil rulers to the church has a title to such degrees of submission from the church as she may grant, without materially hurting her radical powers, or departing from her original foundation. Such was the situation of the church in general when established under the Roman Empire, while it stood, and of the particular churches in the various kingdoms which progressively broke off from it, before

fore the papal pretensions had risen to the height of modern encroachment; and such was the situation of the church here, when she emerged from beneath the deluge which the torrent of the covenant had brought upon her. The King claimed the privilege of convocating a General Assembly or council of the church in his narrow kingdom of Scotland, as the christian Emperors had done of calling general councils in their extensive dominions; a privilege which all Protestant writers agree in yielding to the Sovereign, as belonging, not to his christianity, but to his crown.

LETTER
LI.



What reasons this King might have had, for not calling such an Assembly in all his reign, needs not be inquired into at present. It may be presumed that the Bishops saw no immediate necessity for such national conventions, since they were allowed full freedom in their inferior judicatories, and had standing regulations both ecclesiastical and civil, whereby to direct their government of the church. Besides, they had frequent meetings among themselves about church matters, according to the practice of the early ages, when it is certain the Bishops met here and there as was convenient, without these tumultuous conventions of Presbyters, which the reformed system, especially in Scotland, brought along with it. And the King himself, with all his claims of supremacy, whether just or not, was still inclined to countenance the Bishops, and to preserve to them their due superiority over the Presbyters, with all such immunities and privileges belonging to their order as were consistent with their constitutional incorporation into the state. For there are extant fundry letters of different dates from the Earl
of

LETTER of Lauderdale, the King's great favourite, & LI. Archbishop Sharp, assuring him of the King's resolutions to name no Bishops to vacant sees, but such as should be recommended by the two Archbishops in their respective provinces, and therefore warning his Grace to be very diligent and cautious in his recommendations. How far Lauderdale, who had been once a violent covenanter and is variously spoken of by the historians of those times, was sincere in his professions of kindness to Episcopacy, may be still a matter of doubt. But so it was in fact, that for a while he did make such professions, and by these means, of condensation on the King's side, and attention to duty on the part of the Bishops, matters were kept tolerably quiet for some years after the restoration.

But the flame of the Covenant was only smothered a little, not quite extinguished. There was still a remainder of the furious *Remonstrators* faction, whom no laws could restrain, and no gentleness mollify. And tho' the terms of communion with Episcopacy were made so easy, (a Mr. Honeyman Archdeacon of St. Andrews, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, shewed to the world in a publication of his at that time) that Mr. Calamy, one of the most sensible Presbyterians in England, said when he read it, "What would our brethren in Scotland be at, or what would they have? Would to God we had these offers." Yet his Scottish brethren made light of these offers, and were resolved never to be satisfied. For in 1666 they broke out into open rebellion, took up arms in great numbers, gave defiance to government, renewed their Covenant afresh in all the bigotry and enthusiasm of them

and

and committed many acts of hostility and cruelty LETTER
LI.
upon the King's loyal subjects. At last, having
in their preaching rambles thro' the country swel-
led to the number of two thousand, they conceiv-
ed such an opinion of their own strength, as to
venture an engagement with the King's troops on
the 27th of November at the Pentland-hills, but
were defeated with the loss of five hundred of
them killed in the action. Of the prisoners taken,
a few were hanged at different places, who might
have saved their lives if they would have renounc-
ed the Covenant: And the King, out of his in-
state clemency, put a stop to further execution,
by ordering his commissioner Rothes to set the re-
maining wretches at liberty, upon their simply
promising to obey the laws for the future.

Yet neither this disappointment of their blind
hopes, nor the experience of the Royal mercy,
had any effect: The rebellious spirit still kept up,
and what they could not execute against the state,
they resolved to attempt upon the church. The
Primate's activity and vigilance, they saw, were
not easily to be overcome; but his person lay
open to their assaults, and could be dispatched by
a private stroke sooner and safer than the establish-
ment in general could be born down by a public
attack. With this malicious view, having long
waited for a convenient opportunity, at last on
the 11th of July 1668, as the Archbishop of
St. Andrews was coming down the street of Edin-
burgh in his coach, attended by Bishop Honey-
man of Orkney, a James Mitchel, one of the in-
surgents who had escaped from Pentland-hills,
fired a pistol charged with three bullets into the
coach, which luckily missed the Primate for whom
it was designed, but broke Bishop Honeyman's
arm.

LETTER arm. In the confusion, the villian got off, but was

LI. apprehended in 1676, and hanged in the Grassmarket, glorying in the execrable deed, and avowing the most destructive and damnable principles to the very last. This daring outrage could not but alarm and provoke the administration both of church and state: Yet the King hoping to quiet if possible, the minds, and sweeten the humours of these restless people, did by his letter, dated at Whitehall, June 7th 1669, grant an indulgence to the Presbyterians, on conditions which could not be said to bear hard even on the most tender consciences. He had oft proposed such a thing in England, but the Parliament there would not consent, and always checked the proposal. However his Scotch council thought the measure expedient, and gave their concurrence: Particularly the Earl of Tweeddale was most active in it, a man of great worldly wisdom, but of loose notions as to government of any kind, and in this affair assisted and directed by two men, who, tho' Bishops and men of good character, were not very strictly prelatial, the English Bishop Wilkins of Chester, and our own Bishop Leighton of Dunblain.

This indulgence thus obtained was accepted by many of the Presbyterian preachers, who, tho' they would not go the length of a full compliance with Episcopacy, happened to be men of more sober and peaceable tempers, and were now not only connived at, but even put in actual possession of vacant kirks in those places where it was thought the people inclined most to their persuasion. Yet, notwithstanding this stretch of lenity, so irreclaimable were the remains of the old Covenanters, especially in the West, that they still pursued their extravagant courses, and even open

penly and impudently renounced their allegiance, under the old pretext of their covenant engagements. Nay, so bitterly enraged were they against their own brethren who accepted the indulgence, that they threw off all communion with them, and branded them with as odious names as they could find in the established clergy, calling the one party 'the King's curates,' and the other 'the Bishop's curates,' which they then designed, and the zealots of them to this day use, as a title of contempt.

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I am not to meddle with the question of the King's prerogative in granting this indulgence; but one unhappy consequence of it was, that it opened a door towards larger encroachments of the same kind. For the statesmen, who had advised the King thus by his own power to dispense with the laws, finding it not very agreeable to the established church, which now had the laws in her favour, and fearing to be called to account for their advice some time or other, saw it necessary to provide for their future security, by the most effectual means they could think of. To this purpose, when the Parliament sat down in November this year, the Earl of Lauderdale, who had been the principal hand in the indulgence, and was now his Majesty's commissioner, got an act passed on the 16th, tho' with great reluctance, called the *Affertory Act*, declaring, 'That his Majesty, by virtue of his supremacy, has the ordering and disposing of the external government and polity of the church, as an inherent right of his crown: And that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the

LETTER ' church, and the persons employed in the same  
 LI. ' and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings an  
 ~~~~~ ' matters to be proposed and determined therein  
 ' as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit."

By this last clause, it must be acknowledged that the intrinsic power and proper foundation of a christian church is too nearly struck at : and therefore the Bishops struggled as much as they could against it. The Primate in particular argued long and strenuously that it should not pass but was interrupted by the commissioner from the Throne, who satirically observed, " that our Lord St. Andrews would not allow the King's supremacy in terms of the act, because it seemed he designed it for himself." But beside this political design of these statesmen to screen themselves from future danger, it was thought that there were other hands employed in the framing of this strange-looking statute, and that it was contrived by Mr. Robert Douglas and his brethren, who still had a great deal to say with their old accomplices in the Covenant, Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and some others of the council, in order to justify the indulgence which had led them off from the Episcopal communion, and to secure themselves in the enjoyment of their present liberty, by thus getting it made as good as legal. Whatever it was that gave rise to this Assentory Act, it is certain that it was attended with most disagreeable consequences. For it not only raised a jealousy between the church and the state, but likewise laid the Bishops open, tho' innocent, to the slanders and reproaches of their enemies, for so tamely giving up their privileges, and having a hand in unchurching themselves : And if the whole Bench of Bishops had been able, by their

their few votes, to have hindered the passing of **LETTER**
 it, or had been obliged to have struck out against **LI.**
 it, with the then popular argument of tumult and rebellion. They did what lay to their hand, in reasoning and pleading against it as Bishops, while it was under debate, and when it was carried they could do no more, as subjects, but yield to it, and make their best of it.

The first unhappy effect of this act fell upon Dr. Alexander Burnet, who had been Archbishop of Glasgow since Fairfoul's death in 1663. This good man, after the affair of Pentland-hills, shewed great inclination to have these infatuated people treated with lenity: And when their examination came before the privy-council, he laboured much to get their lives spared, and even went so far as to transmit an account of the council's proceedings against them to the English secretary of State, Arlington, to be communicated to the King. Lauderdale, being secretary for Scotland, was highly offended at this, as an unpardonable interference with his office, and not only threatened the Archbishop with a criminal prosecution, for what he called revealing the King's secrets, which however faulty in a privy counsellor, was in the present case no way uncharacteristic in a Bishop, but likewise for the quicker execution of his long-harboured resentment, procured, in terms of this new act, a letter from the King to the privy council, discharging the Archbishop of Glasgow from officiating in his diocese till his Majesty's further pleasure. And upon this order, however mortifying and unwelcome, the peaceable man called his clergy together, and in great simplicity told them, " he was not to act for some
 " time as their ordinary among them, till the King

LETTER “ should be pleased to allow him.” This hap-
 LI. pened in December 1669, and immediately Bi-
 shop Leighton of Dunblain was nominated by the
 King commendator and administrator of the See
 of Glasgow during pleasure. Thus wantonly did
 Lauderdale exercise the power which the late act
 had thrown into his hands. But the ambitious
 man, being created a Duke in 1672, and still
 engrossing the Royal ear, carried matters with so
 high a hand, that not only a party of his own
 countrymen, Hamilton, Kincardine, Tweedale, and
 others combined against him, but even the English
 began to take offence at his too great influence with
 the King, and the house of commons once had
 a design of impeaching him. The Bishops of
 England too were highly disgusted at his arbitrary
 usage of Archbishop Burnet, and thought them-
 selves so far interested as to make a common cause
 of it. So at last, finding himself thus beset by
 such powerful antagonists, he saw it necessary to
 lay aside his ordinary haughtiness, and was soon
 after reconciled first to Archbishop Sharp, and by
 his means to the worthy Archbishop of Canter-
 bury Dr. Sheldon, which for a while warded off
 the intended blow against him. Upon this change
 of temper in Lauderdale, the inhibition against
 Dr Burnet was taken off, and on Bishop Leighton's
 resigning the charge of Glasgow, which he had
 been soon weary of, the old Archbishop returned
 to his See, where he continued till the year 1679,
 when he was removed to St. Andrews. While
 the Bishops had thus the influence of the assentory
 act to combat on the one hand, they were equally
 harassed by the effects of the indulgence on the
 other ; For those preachers who by means of it
 had got possession of kirks, brought with them
 in-

the church, their peculiar affection for General Assemblies, where the Presbyters, by their plurality of voices, would be a counter-balance to the authority of the Bishops, and therefore, would be ready enough to recommend the propriety of the promiscuous Conventions, which tended so much to humour the pride of the second order, at the expence of the radical privileges of the first. This aspiring disposition, which had such a plausible appearance of concern for the public good of the church, broke out at last to such a degree in Edinburgh, that in July 1674, the Bishop, Dr. Young, was obliged to pronounce sentence of suspension against three of the most factious of his Presbyters, Turner, Robertson, and Cant, "for their insolently and audaciously insisting for a National Assembly." From which sentence of the Bishop they appealed, not to the Metropolis, as they might or ought to have done, if they thought themselves aggrieved, but in the traditional style of the first Covenanters, to the King and Privy Council.

Much about the same time, Dr. James Ramsay, who, from being Dean of Glasgow, was promoted to the See of Dunblain in 1673, gave such countenance to the Presbyters who began to cabal for a National Synod, that in 1675 it was proposed to move him to some other See, which produced a most angry letter from him to Archbishop Sharp, in the injustice of such a proposal, to which the Archbishop, as he well could, gave a suitable and smart return. Yet Ramsay went on in his own way of fomenting and abetting these mutinous proceedings, to the great offence of the King and chief of his brethren, so that after long bearing with him to no purpose, it was found necessary,

in

LETTER in 1684, to translate him to Ross, where the i

LI. fection was not so prevalent, and his influen
 could not do much harm. These were, no doubt
 disagreeable measures, but such as christian pr
 dence would lead the church to put up with, r
 ther than risk the return of former confusions.
 was no wonder that the King had no great lov
 for the General Assemblies of Scotland, from th
 remembrance of the many insults which both hi
 father and himself had met with from these Con
 ventions: And no well disposed christian would
 in such a case, have too strenuously insisted on
 them, if there was no other reason for them, a
 at that time there was no other, but asserting
 privilege in the church, to hold such meetings a
 her pleasure, whether there was a necessity for i
 or not.

Thus, the effects of the Presbyterian Indul
 gence, and the burden of the Assentory Act, h
 equally heavy upon the church in this reign; an
 the Bishops did what they could, in their doubl
 capacity of governors of the church and subject
 of the state, to guard against the pernicious te
 dency of both. They drew up modest representa
 tions of the divisive consequences that the indul
 gence had produced, without answering the en
 that was expected, and referred it to his Majesty
 wisdom to provide a proper remedy. In Jul
 1675, five of them met at Edinburgh, to conf
 about the state of the church, and the division
 that prevailed, and sent an account of their del
 berations to Archbishop Sharp, then at Bath: b
 his health: And in April 1678, the Primate, w
 Bishop Young of Edinburgh, Paterson of Gall
 way, Ross of Argyle, and Wood of the Isles
 made out a memorial " concerning the growi
 " 0

of schism and rebellion in Scotland," and com-
 missioned the Archbishop of Glasgow to present it
 at court for his Majesty's instruction. Thus they
 took every prudent measure, as much as they
 could have done in a National Synod, consistent
 with their obedience as subjects, to preserve order
 in the church, and peace in the state, in opposi-
 tion to the designs which were perpetually form-
 ing against both.

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LI.

Mean time, while the established clergy were
 struggling with legal difficulties, and the indulged
 Preachers, under protection, spreading their dar-
 ling tenets, the true sons of the Covenant, who
 equally abhorred them both, were busy contriv-
 ing their schemes, railing at and excommunicat-
 ing the King, going armed to their seditious
 preachings, and carrying their madness to such
 a pitch of barbarity, that murdering of soldiers
 in their beds, abusing the persons and families of
 the clergy, and insulting all that had the least con-
 nexion with authority, were things familiar to
 them, and become their daily practice.* At last,
 by the repeated instigations of him who was a
 murderer from the beginning, and under the per-
 mission of heaven, for the filling up the measure of
 their iniquities, they put in execution the horrid
 purpose, which they had once attempted, and
 still had their hearts set upon, against the one per-
 son in the kingdom, whom, next to Majesty, they
 most feared and hated: For on the 3d of May

* To such a degree of profaneness had these people carried
 their abuse of the sacred office, that, as Lauderdale in one of
 his letters to Archbishop Sharp complains, the very common
 hangman of the burgh of Irvine in the West-country took upon
 him the office of the ministry, and preached publicly in their
 conventicles.

LETTER 1679, a desperate band of nine ruffians,* all on
 LI. horseback and in arms, way-laid Archbishop
 Sharp as he was returning home from Edinburgh, and coming up with his coach at a place called Magus Moor, between the Struthers and St. Andrews, ordered him to "Come out, cruel bloody traitor;" which the venerable old man having done with great composure, while he desired them only to spare his life till he recommended his own soul to God, and prayed for them, they instantly fell upon him, and basely and barbarously murdered him, with twenty two wounds in different parts of his body. In this atrocious manner fell Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of all Scotland; a sacrifice in his person to the malice of the Covenanters, and in his character, the great object of their calumny to this day. His betraying their cause with the King, as they alledge, is what they have never forgot nor forgiven to him, tho' his own letters on that occasion, and the letters of the English Dissenters in London at the time, fully vindicate him from that spiteful imputation: Yet, had it been as they say, the charge comes ill from that party, whose first rise was founded in a more flagrant apostacy, and was carried on by a course of more consummate perfidy and rebellion too, than Dr Sharp had been, or could have been guilty of. But it is enough for his vindication, that the traducers of his memory are the abettors of his murder, as it is not to be expected that they, who can applaud or approve the wilful murdering of any man whatever, will be ready to shew much

* John Balfour, David Haxton, George Balfour, James Ruffel, Robert Dingwal, Andrew Gillan, Alexander and Andrew Henderson brothers, and George Fleming.

**LETTER
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small party of the King's troops near Lou-  
ll, they went on with great boldness and  
till the 22d of June, when the Duke of  
outh came up with them at Bothwelbridge,  
r from Hamilton, and gave them a total  
row, killing about 300 of them, and taking  
risoners, and among the rest, two of their  
reachers Kidd and King, who were after-  
tried and hanged for rebellion. It was

3 P

**under**

LETTER under the management of Titus Oates, that infamous tool of the English Republicans, was in agitation; which sent many great men to prison, and poor men to the gallows, and drove the Duke of York, the King's only brother and heir-apparent to the Crown, from the court.


Upon this uncivil treatment, his Royal Highness at the King's desire, came down, with his family, to Scotland in October 1679, and took up his residence at Holyroodhouse, where the Lords of session thought it their duty to wait upon him, and their president Sir James Dalrymple of Stair in their name made a congratulatory speech on the occasion; in which, among other expressions of compliment, he said, "it was a matter of great joy to the nation to see one of the Royal family among them, after being for so many years deprived of that honour, and the nation being entirely Protestant, it was the fittest place his Highness could make his recess to at that time." I take notice of this part of the President's speech, only with a view to point out the strong attestation, here given to the religion of the nation, which at that time was known to be Episcopacy, and yet is here declared, even by the Lord Stair, to be "entirely Protestant." What could his Lordship's thoughts, when he spoke so, be of his countrymen in the West, and many of them his own tenants, who were preaching and praying, covenanting and fighting, to disturb this "entirely protestant" nation, and unhinge its established constitution? For notwithstanding the defeat at Bothwellbridge, which from their knowledge of Monmouth's private attachments they had not been looking for, they still continued as fierce and resolute as ever, under the direction of three

fanatical demagogues, a Cargill and two LETTER  
 rons, brothers, one of whom undertook at Lb  
 me to kill his Royal Highness when he din-  
 public, but was disappointed by being ac-  
 ally known in the street, and obliged to  
 id for his own safety. Yea, so daring were  
 now become, that they entered into a new  
 rant, disclaiming and renouncing all obedi-  
 to the King and Government, and declaring,  
 t the Covenant is the original contract be-  
 sen God, the King, and the people, and that  
 ig Charles having broken this contract, had  
 feited the crown; so that it was necessary to  
 ke war against him, and both lawful and  
 ht to kill him and all who served him."—  
 on the 22d of June 1680, at the market cross  
 aquhar, after a solemn procession and singing  
 lms by one of the Camerons, they publish-  
 declaration which they called "the decla-  
 ion and testimony of the true-Presbyterian,  
 ti-prelatick, and Anti-erastian persecuted par-  
 in Scotland," homologating the testimony  
 at Ruglen, May 29, 1679, and all the  
 ul testimonies of those that have suffered of  
 and declaring war against Charles Stuart,  
 he Duke of York, with all their adherents;  
 a threat in the end, "to reward those that  
 : against us as they have done to us, as the  
 rd gives the opportunity."  
 pursuance of these intolerable combinations,  
 again pushed their fortune in the fields, but  
 no success. Cargill was caught at Queens-  
 on the 3d of June, with the new Covenant,  
 was hanged: And Cameron was killed in a  
 with the King's troops at Airdsmoss on  
 3d of July after. The measures now taken



LETTER by Government, with the public executions of  
 LL. some few rebels here and there, who all had their  
 lives offered them if they would only have said,  
 “ God save the King,” were not only complain-  
 ed of at the time, but are still in the mouths of  
 many who affect to cry out against “ the perse-  
 cutions of Charles the Second’s Reign.” But  
 what could government do? Here was the first  
 man in the church, and a privy-counsellor in the  
 state, openly and inhumanly murdered, and his  
 murderers protected and abetted, the King’s au-  
 thority renounced, and his person set up as a mark  
 for every private ruffian to shoot at, his officers  
 insulted, his laws defied, his very mercy affront-  
 ed: And all this by a pitiful parcel of hot-headed  
 fanatics, not the thousandth part of the nation ei-  
 ther for numbers, figure, or property. And were  
 such wretches, despicable, no doubt, if they had  
 made no noise with their foolish principles, to be  
 suffered to go on without check in, or dismissed  
 without punishment for, their rebellious practices!  
 One thing however may be observed, that these  
 violent doings, if they must be called such, may  
 be said to have been not only the consequences,  
 but even the effects of Archbishop Sharp’s death,  
 whose activity might have in a great measure pre-  
 vented these tumults, as his influence in the privy-  
 council would have been of great use towards mi-  
 tigating the severity of justice in suppressing them.

Yet the King, provoked as he was, took all pos-  
 sible and prudent methods to settle these distrac-  
 tions, and to restore the peace of the kingdom:  
 For next summer 1681 he called a Parliament in  
 Scotland, and sent down his brother, the Duke of  
 York, to be Commissioner. The first act of this  
 Parliament is concerning religion, “ Ratifying  
 all

acts, laws and statutes made by his Majesty's LETTER  
 al Grandfather and Father of blessed me- LL.  
 y, or in any of his present Majesty's former   
 iaments, for settling the liberty of the true  
 of God, and the Protestant religion pre-  
 ly professed within this realm, and all acts  
 nst Popery, ordaining the same to stand in  
 force and effect, as if they were specially  
 tioned and set down herein." And to secure  
 ghts of the crown, which the English bill of  
 on was then striking at, another act passed  
 ng, "That the crown of Scotland by in-  
 nt right, and by the nature of the monarchy,  
 well as by the fundamental and unalterable  
 of the realm, is devolved and transmitted  
 ineal succession according to proximity of  
 d, and that no difference of religion or act  
 arliament can alter or divert the right of  
 ession and lineal descent of the crown to the  
 rest and lawful heir," and making it high  
 by writing, speaking or any other way, to  
 our to alter, suspend or divert that right  
 scent. But the act which made the greatest  
 afterwards, was the Test-act, as it is called,  
 st clause of which required people to swear,  
 it they owned and sincerely professed the true  
 testant religion contained in the confession  
 aith recorded in Parliament 1567, and that  
 y believed the same to be founded in, and  
 ceable to the written word of God, and that  
 y will adhere thereto all the days of their  
 , and educate their children therein, and  
 er consent to any change or alteration con-  
 y to it." At the same time they were  
 d too to renounce the national Covenant  
 olemn League, to disclaim the endeavouring  
 any

LETTER any alteration in either church or state, and to  
 LL. engage for the support and defence of the crown  
 against all resistance.

This Test Oath was to be sworn by all persons in public trust in the church, state, and army, and such as refused were to lose their moveables, and sufferent besides. Yet, notwithstanding these heavy penalties, the Bishops and clergy had scruples about this Test, and most of them refused to take it in the high founding sense of some of the words of it. This procured an act of council, explanatory of the Test, at Edinburgh, November 3, 1681, bearing, that ‘ Upon account of jealousies and prejudices against the Test, as if designed to hurt the doctrines and powers of the church, or to expose the present settlement of Episcopacy to alteration; therefore, his Majesty’s Commissioner, and the Lords of his Privy Council, do allow, authorise, and empower the Archbishop and Bishops, to take and administer this oath in this express sense: 1. That tho’ the Confession of Faith, ratified in Parliament 1567, was framed in the infancy of the Reformation, and deserves its due praise; yet, by the Test, we do not swear to every proposition or clause contained in it, but only to the true Protestant Religion, founded on the word of God, and contained there, as it is opposed to Popery and Fanaticism. 2. That by the Test, or any clause in it, no invasion or encroachment is made or intended, upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, or power of the keys, as it was exercised by the apostles, and the most pure and primitive church, in the three first centuries after Christ, and which is still reserved entire to the church. 3. That the Oath and Test is  
 without

Without any prejudice to the Episcopal Govern- LETTER  
ment of this national church, which is declared, II.  
by the first act of the second Session of his Ma- ~~~~~  
jesty's first Parliament, to be most agreeable to  
the word of God, and most suitable to Mon-  
archy, and which, upon all occasions, his Ma-  
jesty hath declared he will inviolably and unal-  
terably preserve.' This explanation of the of-  
fensive passages in the act was sent up, on the 8th,  
to the King for his approbation, which he was  
pleased to give in the fullest manner, by a letter  
to the Privy Council of date the 15th, supersign-  
d CHARLES R. and subscribed Moray, in which  
he says, ' We are so pleased with that explanatory  
act, that we will not delay to send you our  
cheerful approbation thereof, with our hearty  
thanks for your zeal in our service: Especially  
in what relates to the security of the persons,  
rights, interests, and privileges of our orthodox  
clergy, which we do now, as we have oft done  
before, in a particular manner recommend to  
your care, as a matter wherein you may render  
unto us most acceptable service: And therefore,  
we expect that you will, upon all fit occasions,  
give them all possible encouragement, as those  
whom we have received, and will constantly  
shelter, under our royal protection, against all  
their enemies.'

On receiving this letter, which, under the  
king's hand, so mollifies the harsh sound of the  
supremacy, and leaves the church to the free ex-  
ercise of all the powers and privileges which she  
in equity claim as a church, the Bishops were  
entirely satisfied on that invidious, but delicate  
point, that, on the return of his Royal Highness  
to London, in March next year, seven of them,  
viz,

LETTER viz. the two Archbishops, Burnet and Rofs; and  
 LI. the Bishops, Paterfon of Edinburgh, Bruce of  
 Dunkeld, Aitkin of Galloway, Haliburton of Brechin, and Ramfay of Dunblain, wrote to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, how sensible they were of the benefits of the Duke's administration, and desired his Grace to make their grateful acknowledgements to his Royal Highness accordingly. But however reconciled the Bishops and bulk of the clergy were to this Test, it was not so palatable to the Presbyterian part of the laity, and some of the principal contrivers of it fell into their own snare. Stair, the Lord President of the Session, who, with the Earl of Argyle, had artfully got the old Confession put at the head of the oath, as a fence against the Duke's Popery, and was willing to sign that part of it with great alacrity, was so dissatisfied with the other parts, which struck at the Presbyterians, and called them Fanatics, that he resigned his office, and in the end of next year retired in disgust to Holland, where he had time, with others of the same stamp, to concert the famous expedition, which was undertaken six years after. His accomplice, Argyle, whom the King had graciously relieved from the burden of his father's parliamentary forfeiture, went another way to work, and being a Privy Counsellor, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, offered, for the keeping of his place, to take the oath, but would needs qualify it to his own sense, by declaring, ' That he was desirous  
 ' to give obedience to the Test as far as he could,  
 ' and now took it so far as it is consistent with it-  
 ' self, and with the Protestant Religion: But that  
 ' he did not mean to bind up himself in his sta-  
 ' tion from endeavouring, in a lawful way, any  
 ' thing

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ag he might think for the advantage of the  
 rich or state, not repugnant to the Protestant  
 religion and his loyalty: And this he under-  
 stood as a part of his oath.' The Privy Council,  
 going into consideration this qualifying stricture,  
 finding it entirely destructive of the intention  
 of the act, earnestly pressed Argyle to retract his  
 declaration, representing to him, from the opinion  
 of the ablest lawyers of the kingdom, that, by  
 all such as put limitations upon their allegi-  
 ance, were guilty of treason. But the presumptu-  
 ous man refusing to depart from it in the least,  
 allowing copies of it to be spread abroad, was  
 executed for treason, and found guilty; but  
 by his escape out of prison, by connivance,  
 got over to the then common asylum, Holland,  
 where he was indeed as busy, but not so cautious,  
 as his wily friend Stair: For ventur-  
 ing soon, and on his own strength, to make  
 an attempt which, at his taking the Test, he  
 was to have had in view, he was disappointed,  
 lost his head on a scaffold, three years before  
 his grand design, which was more artfully con-  
 cealed than his rash attempt had been, could be  
 brought to perfection. Thus, these two eminent  
 champions of Presbytery, who, whatever senti-  
 ments of affection they might have had for the  
 crown, were avowed enemies of the church, and  
 introduced this double-faced oath to entangle  
 the Episcopal Clergy, were unexpectedly caught  
 in the trap of their own devising, and drew down  
 upon themselves, the effects of an act which they  
 intended and hoped should have operated an-  
 other way.

However, a foundation was now laid; and this  
 city, as it was called, to a nobleman of

BETTER Argyle's note and figure, was made a plausible  
 I.I. handle, to keep up the malignant humour against  
 both church and state: For soon after this, the  
 administration was alarmed by the discovery of a  
 new plot for assassinating the King and his brother, in their returning from Newmarket to London, at a private house on the road called the Rye, from which circumstance, it has been called the *Rye-house Plot*. The first discovery of this deep laid scheme was made on the 12th of June 1683, and the prosecution of it, which lasted some weeks, brought to light a great number in both nations who had been engaged in it; some of whom escaped in time, and others suffered for it. Of the English, the person of the greatest character, and who was most regretted on account of his virtues in private life, was the Lord Russel, eldest son to the Earl of Bedford, who was found guilty, and beheaded on the 21st of July. This noble Lord was attended, when under condemnation, by two eminent divines, Dr. Tillotson, and our countryman Dr. Burnet, who both laboured to convince him of the sinfulness of the course he was engaged in: And to work the more effect upon him, Dr. Tillotson wrote him a letter the day before his execution, in which he puts him in mind, ' That the christian religion doth plainly forbid the resisting of authority: That though our religion is established by law, which is the only difference that can be urged between our case and that of the primitive christians; yet, in the same law which establishes our religion, it is declared, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the King, which ties the hands of subjects, tho' the law of nature, and general rules of scripture, had left

us at liberty : And that his Lordship's opinion LETTER  
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of the lawfulness of resistance in certain cases, ~  
is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Pro-  
testant churches, tho' some particular persons  
have sometimes taught otherwise : Begging his  
Lordship, therefore, to consider how it will  
agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant  
religion, to go contrary to the general current of  
the Protestant doctrine.'

The arguments of these two famous Doctors at  
this time, upon this intricate subject, especially  
this strong letter, were brought to their remem-  
brance some years after, upon the then apparent  
change in their conduct ; and an attempt was  
made, from their side, to reconcile that conduct  
to their former principles, but with what justice  
or strength of reasoning on either side, I shall not  
take upon me to determine. I shall only observe  
how fashionable it was then to pretend, at least,  
an expression of fondness for the now ridiculed  
doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience ;  
and that not only among the Episcopal clergy,  
whom their enemies are daily representing as the  
flatterers of Kings and enslavers of the people, but  
even among those who publicly avowed an opposi-  
tion to Prelacy, and would be thought the only  
defenders of the liberties and rights of mankind :  
For the Presbyterian Synod of Fife, in their ' Sea-  
' sonable word of exhortation and admonition  
' against Episcopacy,' in April 1661, use as high-  
flowing language this way, as the most fawning  
writer of the slavish tribe could have done, where,  
speaking of King Charles on his restoration, they  
call him ' their Sovereign, inferior to none but  
' God, who is his only Judge, invested by God  
' with a peerless supremacy over all persons and



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' ranks within his dominions, the chief nurse  
' father of the church, and keeper of both  
' tables of God's law; the sovereign protector  
' defender of the worship and ordinances of God  
' God's vicegerent, sent by him to bear the sword  
' with imperial power; the supreme civil governor  
' nor over all persons, in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, &c. Who, if in any thing to be  
' joined we cannot give active obedience, we hope  
' will be pacified by our passive obedience, which  
' we resolve to yield, as our God calleth us, rather  
' than to sin against him.' Such was the language then, however much exploded now; was inconsistent, indeed, with the practices and principles which, under these fine sounding professions, much infested both this reign and the next.

Of the Scotch partners in the Rye-house affair the principal sufferer was Baillie of Jerviswood who was condemned and executed next year for his share in it. Besides him were concerned, the Earl of Tarras, the Lord Melvil, the Lairds Cessnock, Polwart, Torwoodlie, Westshiels, Easton, Lenshaw, Gallowshiels, and Philiphaugh Sir John Cochran, Commissary Monro, the two independent preachers, Carstairs and Ferguson with many others of less note, some of whom fled over sea, and others saved their lives by turning evidence. Thus was an end put to this traitorous combination, which was intended to have produced most fatal consequences to the nation; and the King having retracted his former abused indulgences, both church and state were now in a way of enjoying some degree of peace and quiet from the further attempts of fanatics of any kind. But in the beginning almost of this flattering prospect, an unlooked for event happened, which

by a chain of co-operating circumstances, paved the way for the Revolution that followed soon after: For on the 6th of February 1685, his Majesty, King Charles II. died at Whitehall, without lawful issue, in the 55th year of his age, and 37th of his reign; a Prince of such a mixture of qualities, that it is not easy to form a general character of him, further than what is universally acknowledged, that what we call good nature and a desire of ease, was predominant in his constitution to such a degree, that it may justly be said of him, "He loved neither to give nor take trouble;" but how far this is commendable in a King, is not for me to say.

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LL.

I am, &c.

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## L E T T E R LII.

*Peaceable Accession of James VII.—His Attachment to Popery, and impolitic Measures—Dutiful behaviour of the Scotch Bishops and Clergy—The King's Proclamation against the Test—And Toleration of Recusants—Consequences of it—Declaration of the Prince of Orange—He invades England, and obliges the King to take Refuge in France.*

A.D. 1685. **T**HE same day that Charles died, his only surviving brother James Duke of Albany and York was proclaimed at London with the usual solemnity, and with all the appearances of universal satisfaction. On the 28th of April the Parliament of Scotland met, and after reading the new King's letter, the Duke of Queensberry the commissioner made a speech to them, in which, "he affures them of his Majesty's resolution to maintain and protect the government of the church."

by law established, together with the rights **LETTER**  
 liberties of the people, and recommends to **LII.**  
 the suppressing that fanatical and irre-  
 mable party, who had brought them to the  
 risk of ruin and disgrace, and were not more  
 faithful against the King, than enemies to man-  
 kind.' In return to which the Parliament pas-  
 sed the following acts. 1. For ratifying and con-  
 firming, in their whole strength and tenor, all for-  
 mer acts and statutes for the security, liberty and  
 peace of the true church of God, and the Pro-  
 testant religion, presently professed within the  
 kingdom. 2. For annexing and uniting the excise  
 revenue and inland commodities to the crown  
 of Scotland for ever. 3. Ordaining that all such  
 persons as being cited in case of high treason, field  
 house-conventicles, or church-irregularities,  
 refuse to give testimony, shall be liable to be  
 judged as guilty of these crimes respectively in  
 which they refuse to be witnesses. 4. Making a  
 voluntary offer to the King of 260,000 pounds year-  
 ring his life. And 5. Declaring that the giving  
 up the national covenant, as explained in  
 the solemn league and covenant common-  
 called, or writing in defence of them, or  
 denying them to be lawful and obligatory on  
 themselves or others, should incur the crimes and  
 penalties of treason.

Thus the reign of James had a promising enough  
 beginning: but this agreeable  
 prospect was soon interrupted. For within a few  
 days, Argyle landed from Holland in hopes of  
 a powerful junction at home, and being taken at  
 Patrick before he could collect a sufficient  
 force, was carried to Edinburgh, and on the 30th  
 June beheaded, on his former sentence. This  
 early

**LETTER** early piece of justice immediately opened the  
**LII** mouths of the secret malecontents, and awakened  
 ~~~~~ the remembrance of the prosecutions for the late  
 plot, which in the next reign the successful party
 magnified with great bitterness, and to this day
 exclaim against, as flagrant instances of the cruelty
 and sanguinary tyranny of the two Stuart brothers.* Yet the Parliament continued their expressions of loyalty, and on hearing of Argyle's invasion in Scotland, and Monmouth's much about the same time in England, they promised "to
 " stand by his Majesty with their lives and for-
 " tunes without reserve," not meaning thereby to
 introduce a blind slavery, as has been maliciously
 pretended, but merely to exclude those treasonable
 limitations of obedience invented by the Covenanters, contrary to standing laws, and on purpose to seduce people into rebellion.

Thus matters went on here for a while, calmly and peaceably enough, notwithstanding the King's attachment to Popery, which was universally known, and which his greatest enemies acknowledge was the only blemish in his character.— And indeed when we remember what a father he was educated under, till he was fifteen years of age, a man who had given such proofs of his understanding the religious controversies of the times as fully as most men in his day, and who may be

* These people would do well to remember what happened not many years before to the two Marquisses of Huntly and Montrose, to President Spotswood, to the Laird of Haddo, and hundreds of Gentlemen more, many of whom fell a sacrifice to the resentment of this very Argyle's father, in the bloody days of the Covenant, besides the many thousands who died in the civil war, the guilt of which lies on them who raised it, and never made the least profession of repentance for it.

said

ve been a martyr for, as he was a constant adherer to, the principles of pure protestantism, as distinguished both from popish on, and covenanted fanaticism, we cannot but think that this son had, like his elder brother, continued to be satisfied with the religion of his father. But it is needless now to be wish-soning upon the point. The fact was contrary to our wishes, and as matters turned out, against the interests of the British Royalty and worldly interest. For in Scotland, where his personal presence made him more conspicuous, his popish attachments began to raise jealousies and apprehensions of prejudice: And these were increased by his political measures, which whether he was influenced by the treachery of others, or entirely by the force of his own inclination, were made the handles of offence. Such were his orders in 1686, to the Archbishop of Canterbury to prohibit the clergy's preaching on controverted points; the suspending the Bishop of London from his office, by the high commission court of his own erection; the sending a formal ambassador to the Pope, and receiving a Nuncio from him, when the Pope was none of his friends; the imposing on the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in forcing members upon them against their statutes; and his admitting his Jesuit confessor, Father Petre, into the privy council, which, it is well known, his Italian Queen, Popish as she was, did on her knees, tho' to no purpose, might be

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irregular proceedings in such a short time, and being of no great moment in themselves, gave a suspicious look in their probable consequences, imperceptibly and progressively general.

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dered

Earl of Aberdeen, and had a
firm Protestant, changing his
ing the King's ; with a view, i
better by that compliance of t
berry, with whom he had for
matters of office, and who ac
this new favourite, was turned
post.

But the great ground of qu
beginning of the year 1686,
bringing into the second sessio
famous bill for taking off the
penal laws against the Papist
vourite point with the King,
much at heart to accomplish.
business thrown upon the Bi
parliamentary character they
a share in it. It was their mist
unanimous in their sentiments
deed was not to be much wo
nature of the proposal, and th
in which they stood, as belc
church and to the state. As

lying under the perpetual terror of bloody penalties LETTER
 for religious mistakes. It is true the bill was soon LII.
 quashed: For it went no further than the Lords
 of the articles, and never came into the house.—
 But the disappointment produced grievous and
 visible effects. Such of the Ministry as opposed
 the chancellor and the court were removed from
 their offices, and amongst the rest the Advocate's
 place was taken from the learned Sir George Mac-
 kenzie, who was as able a lawyer and as loyal a
 subject as the King had, and given to Stair's eldest
 son, Sir John Dalrymple, to the great surprize of
 many who knew the son's principles to be the
 same with the father's, and feared the consequences
 of such a man getting into such an employment.
 But the weight of the King's displeasure fell most
 sensibly upon the church, where he expected to
 have found the readiest submission, and over which
 the assertory act gave him such an unlimited
 power.

To soften this displeasure if possible, two of the
 Bishops, the Primate Ross of St. Andrews and Bp.
 Paterson of Edinburgh went to court, and in March
 drew up and subscribed a paper, in which they say,
 ' It seemeth reasonable and dutiful to grant what
 ' his Majesty desireth may be done for him, viz.
 ' To take off the sanguinary laws concerning re-
 ' ligion, in so far as they infer the pains of death
 ' or forfeiture against those of his persuasion mere-
 ' ly for their religion, and that the Papists have
 ' an ease and immunity from the execution of the
 ' other penalties civil or criminal contained in
 ' the laws, merely and allenarly for their religion
 ' and exercise of their worship in private houses.
 ' This seemeth to us, who are not Lawyers, to
 ' be equitable and reasonable to be done, con-

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‘ fidering that the execution of fanguinary laws
 ‘ has fallen into an abfolute defuetude for many
 ‘ years paff, and fince upon doing hereof his Ma-
 ‘ jefly is fo gracious as not to intend or defire the
 ‘ repealing of any laws already made for the fe-
 ‘ curity of the Proteftant religion, but is willing
 ‘ further to eftablifh and confirm the fame by any
 ‘ other laws or afts of Parliament that can be
 ‘ made for that end. Nor do we fee any danger
 ‘ or infecurity arifing to our eftablifhed Protef-
 ‘ tant religion by fo doing, but rather an apparent
 ‘ benefit, by his Majefty’s confenting to a more
 ‘ full and ample fecurity thereof: And this is but
 ‘ our own private opinion, for we cannot under-
 ‘ take to fay that this would be the opinion of
 ‘ others. For as we are clearly determined by
 ‘ God’s grace to continue firm and conftant in
 ‘ the reformed Proteftant religion to our lives end,
 ‘ fo alfo are we to ferve our moft gracious fo-
 ‘ vereign, and to comply with his propofals and
 ‘ defires, as far as they do confift with the fafety
 ‘ of our confciences and religion, upon which we
 ‘ affure ourfelves his Majefty’s grace and goodnefs
 ‘ will never impofe.’

This paper, tho’ expreffive of duty to, and con-
 fidence in the King, to a degree which even gave
 offence to many, yet did not altogether avert the
 impending ftorm. For on the 22d of May the
 King wrote a letter to the privy-council, ordering
 them to remove Bifhop Bruce of Dunkeld from
 his diocefs, which was put in execution accord-
 ingly. Other two Bifhops had been marked as
 victims to the wrath of the court on this trying
 occafion, but by fome means or other they had
 been overlooked, and the ftroke lighted on Bifhop
 Bruce, who it feems, had either been more active
 in

opposition, or had fewer friends than his LETTER:
 ren. Nor did these violent proceedings stop LII.

For in a few months after, another of our
 ps, and he no less than the Archbishop of
 ow, met with the same fate by a like stretch
 : regal supremacy, the occasion of which was

The King's inclinations to popery, and his
 avowing of them in so strong a manner, with
 ountenance of the chancellor's friendship and
 ction, had set the Romish missionaries agog,
 emboldened them to spread their distinguish-
 enets with more openness and freedom than
 thought consistent with either the standing
 or the public safety. This unwelcome ap-
 nce had alarmed the whole nation, and the
 had been increased by an unexpected cir-
 stance which had lately occurred, to the
 ize of all Europe. The French King Louis

our King's cousin german, had last year by
 absolute power revoked and annulled the fa-
 edict of Nantz, which his grandfather Henry
 had granted in favour of the Protestants, to
 them the free and undisturbed exercise of
 religion, and which had been again and a-
 solemnly ratified and confirmed, and even by
 King himself among the first acts of his reign.
 is happening at the time of a Popish King's
 sion to the throne of Britain, looked like a
 ned combination between the two monarchs
 stress, and even exterminate their Protestant
 cts: and while the Romish Priests here were,
 r the support of so favourable a conjuncture,
 ing themselves with all their might to propa-
 their doctrines and make profelytes, it was
 to be thought, neither would it have been
 ible, that the established clergy could or would
 be

LETTER be slack in defending the dignity and purity of
LII. their religion, by every method which the laws
 allowed them, and their stations required of them.
 Among the many who stood forth in this important struggle, Dr. James Canaries minister of Selkirk in the diocess of Glasgow, being employed to preach on the 14th of February 1686, in the high church of Edinburgh, before a numerous auditory, where most of the privy council and many of the Bishops were present, made it his business to point out and argue against the various corruptions of popery, warning and exhorting his audience, as they tendered their eternal welfare, to beware of being perverted to a religion so contrary to the spirit, and so destructive of the great design of the gospel.

From Gal.
 v. 6.

The Chancellor, on hearing of this flaming sermon, was so enraged at it, that having sent for the Doctor in a day or two, he abused him with threatening, and even scurrilous language; and not satisfied with venting his passion in words, he ordered the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Cairncross, to punish him for his presumption; threatening, if he did not, to take another course with them both. The Archbishop, being on the one hand afraid of the Chancellor's resentment, and not willing to lose his popularity on the other, prevailed with the Doctor to step out of the way a little, and go up to London, under pretence of making friends at court. While the Doctor was at London, he shewed his sermon to the Bishop of Ely, and some others, who highly approved it, and procured it to be printed, under the title of "Rome's Additions to Christianity;" with a long letter, by way of vindication, prefixed to it. This inflamed the Chancellor and his party still
 more

against the Archbishop, so that, to save appearances, he called the Doctor before the Synod of Glasgow, and having in vain tampered with him to recant, for preventing worse consequences, put a kind of inhibition upon him, not to use his pulpit for some time. However, the Chancellor was not pacified with this partial censure; and in the midst of the contention about the sermon, and the Doctor's errand to London, which the Chancellor resented bitterly against, as injurious to him, he kept up after a strange manner for some months, till in end, the affair reaching the King's ears, orders came down, in December, to have the Archbishop and Canons confronted together, examined by the Chancellor, in presence of the Primate and other two Bishops.

At this meeting, the Archbishop was found guilty and blameable by all present, for having played the politician too much between the Chancellor and the Doctor; and though, to recover the ground which he now saw he had lost, he declared his readiness to retract his former scruples, and to go to all lengths with the King's desire of favour to Papists, it availed nothing for favour to him. For in January next year, the King sent him his letters of deprivation against him; by virtue of which, the Privy Council did, on the 10th of January 1687, 'Declare and enact, that James Alexander, late Archbishop of Glasgow, removed from that Metropolitcal See, and deprived of any right, title, benefit, or privilege, which he had or enjoyed of the said Archbishop-see, in any manner of way; and that, from the date of his Majesty's letter, recorded in the High Court's books; and appoint intimation of this act to be duly made to the said late Archbishop.'

Which

LETTER Which was done accordingly. And the very day
LII. after this act of council, the King's letters were
 presented, recommending Dr. John Paterfon, Bishop of Edinburgh, to be Archbishop of Glasgow, in the room of Dr. Alexander Cairncross, now deprived. The See of Dunkeld, which had been vacated in the same manner last year, had been filled, on the 19th of October, with Dr. John Hamilton, a descendant of Archbishop Hamilton, the last Popish Primate; and this year the King, among the many party-coloured denominations of clergy, who, he was willing, should taste of the merciful cup of his prerogative, grants dispensation, of date August 15, 1687, 'to Dr. Bruce, late Bishop of Dunkeld, for exercising the function of the ministry;' in prosecution of which Royal rehabilitation, on the 4th of May thereafter, he sends his Congé d'Elire to the Chapter of Orkney, and nominates Andrew, late Bishop of Dunkeld, to be by them elected Bishop of that See, vacant since the death of Bishop Mackenzie in February before.

It might be reckoned invidious to the memory of an unfortunate Prince, to offer any comment upon these high exertions of a power, which, whether inherent in the Crown, or affixed to it by Acts of Parliament, was so burdensome and detrimental to the church. Yet, whatever sentiments this Popish King had entertained of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, whose government and liberties he had solemnly promised to defend and maintain, it was very strange that he should thus, at his own pleasure, and in such an arbitrary manner, turn out, and do what he could to exaunderate Bishops, for withholding their approbation from measures which appeared injurious to the interests
 of

that church, of which, by their office, they ~~LETTER~~ ^{LII.} are governors. I would, therefore, put it as a question to be seriously pondered by the sincere admirers of the primitive plan of ecclesiastic constitution, Whether the external dignities, honours, and emoluments, annexed by the state to the church, be really a sufficient equivalent for these oppressive incumbrances, which yet are but natural and necessary consequences of that annexation ; and how far any church, which pretends to copy after the original model, and has enjoyed the benefits of ecclesiastic freedom, under the outward advantages of political separation, can, in conformity to such professions and enjoyments, and purely as a Church, abstractedly from other considerations, wish for a legal re-establishment, clogged with these unpleasant, tho' unavoidable conditions?

The King having failed in his first attempt for the security of his Popish subjects, resolved to go another way to work, and try to effect by Prerogative, what he could not compass by Parliament. Accordingly, on the 12th of February 1687, he published a Proclamation, dispensing, by virtue of his absolute power, with all tests and penal laws of any kind ; and allowing full liberty of conscience to every denomination of recusants, in that his ancient kingdom of Scotland. Such a relaxation, from a King of James' principles, tho' pressed in terms of a general comprehension, was suspected to have a particular aspect, and to be mainly intended for the benefit of his own favourites, by classing them with what might be thought less obnoxious company. . It was said too, that the dispensing power was of dangerous admission in the precedent ; and, if it should be called

LETTER in question, would be but uncertain in the continuance. Yet, the Presbyterians readily laid hold of it, and began immediately to build meeting-houses and call preachers, without any suspicion of the design, or thought about the duration of it. And so happy were they, with this ambiguous infringement of law in their favour, that forgetting their professed aversion to Papists, both in person and principle, they sent up a formal address of thanks to the King, of which the following is a copy :

To the King's most excellent Majesty, this humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers in his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland. May it please your Majesty ; We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion in your ancient kingdom of Scotland, from the deep sense we have of your Majesty's gracious and surprizing favour, in not only putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for Non-conformity, but granting us the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of our ministerial function without any hazard, as we bless the great God, who hath put this in your royal heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to offer our most humble and hearty thanks to your sacred Majesty, the favour bestowed being to us, and all the people of our persuasion, valuable above all our earthly comforts: Especially, since we have ground from your Majesty to believe, that our loyalty is not to be questioned on account of our being Presbyterians, who, as we have, amidst all former temptations, endeavoured, so are firmly resolved, still to preserve an entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice, (consonant to our known principles, which, according

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to the Holy Scriptures, are contained in the Profession of Faith generally owned by Presbyterians in all your Majesty's dominions), and, with the help of God, so to demean ourselves, as your Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish your favours towards us: Thoroughly persuading ourselves, from your Majesty's justice and goodness, that if we shall, at any time, be otherwise represented, your Majesty will not give credit to such information, until we take due cognition thereof: And humbly desiring, that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, as we do disown them, may be looked upon as none of ours, whatever names they may assume to themselves. May it please your most excellent Majesty, graciously to accept this our humble Address, as proceeding from the plainness and simplicity of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged, by this royal favour, to continue our fervent desires, to the King of Kings, for divine illumination and conduct, with all other blessings spiritual and temporal, ever to attend your Royal Person and Government; which is the greatest service that can be rendered to your Majesty, by your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient subjects. At Edinburgh, July 21, 1707.

I will make no observations on this temporizing and fallacious compliment, neither will I say that all the Presbyterians, either preachers or people, were in the secret of what was certainly done in Holland against his Majesty at this time.

No doubt, many of them were plain, honest men, and might be in a great measure strangers to the machinations of the dark cunning

politicians

LETTER politicians among them, so might, in the simplicity of their hearts, and without looking forward to consequences, accept the King's indulgence, and be honestly thankful to him for it. On the other hand, it is as little to be doubted that others of them, indeed all their eminent Preachers, many of whom had been in Holland, and now came over from it, had kept up a correspondence with the malecontent fugitives, Melvil, Polwart, Stair and the rest of them, and were, by that means intimately acquainted with the designs on foot which could not have been brought to such a complete accomplishment so soon after, without such a previous correspondence. Now what appellation belongs to these men, who could either frame or allow their consent, tacit or open, to such a deceitful address to a King, or indeed to any one, whom they were at the time caballing to ruin, may be referred to every conscientious Protestant, who hates the infamous practice of Jesuitical equivocation, with the same zeal with which his christianity teaches him to condemn the doctrine of it.

But acceptable as this new and extensive indulgence was to the inferior people in the South and West, who hastily and thoughtlessly took hold of it, it was some time before those of higher quality and interest, even there, could be persuaded to trust to it. As for the other parts of the kingdom, in some shires, there were not above two meeting-houses, in some none at all, and in all the vast extent of country, north of the Tay, there never were above three or four, and these too neither much frequented, nor by people of great figure: all which is a kind of demonstration, how little fond the generality of the nation was then of that way, notwithstanding the mighty

le that was afterwards made, of the in-^{LETTER}
 is of the people being in favour of it.—^{LIL}
 der all the encouragement now given to
 rians by a Popish King, there was a party
 he Western counties, of the meaner sort
 who acted more consistently with their for-
 nciples and practice, and would in no shape
 own the present toleration, but did open-
 eir sermons, and by their pens, declare
 like of it, and railed more bitterly against
 rethren who took the benefit of it, than
 the clergy established by law. Wherever
 achers of this stamp came, as they were al-
 andering about without any fixed charge,
 ried great numbers of the Presbyterians
 em, and would preach neither in kirk nor
 -house, but in the open fields and on the
 hills, for which they were called Moun-
 n or Field-preachers. This bold and dis-
 practice was equally alarming to both the
 ides. The government published procla-
 against these vagabond preachers, especi-
 ainst the three capital ringleaders among
 Rennie, Shiels and Houston, and gave com-
 to the landholders of the Presbyterian
 on in those parts, to hold justice-courts
 their own districts, and upon seizing any
 Hill-men, to punish them as the law or-
 The other Presbyterians too, who had
 ed the indulgence, were grievously offend-
 hem, and expressed great keenness to have
 rpressed at any rate : To such a degree, in-
 of zeal, that, when Rennie was apprehend-
 y earnestly pressed the King's Advocate, Sir
 alrymple, their trusty friend, to hang the
 ' because he was likely to divide their
 " church."

LETTER "church." Such were the effects of this indul-
 LII. gence, which after all did not answer the King's
 intentions in the mean time, and in end was made
 a great handle of outcry against him, by the very
 men who now took the advantage of it, and pro-
 fessed so much gratitude for it.

All this while the established clergy, in a calm and quiet manner, did what they could, to guard their flocks against, and point out to them the danger of, schismatical practices and heretical doctrines of any kind. And it was repeatedly observed at the time, that while the church-men, who were the only sufferers by this indulgence, were in their station vigilant and zealous against the threatening increase of Popery, the Presbyterians, tho' they knew this was the design at the bottom, were generally silent upon that delicate point, as not chusing to give offence to those, on whose account they had met with so much favour. Indeed the situation of the established clergy at this time, in the discharge of their function, was of a most ticklish and embarrassing nature. On the one hand, any particular appearance of zeal against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome was considered as affronting the King, and exposed them to the severity of that legal power which had already chastised the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, taking hold of the comprehensive indulgence, gave the Parochial ministers all the disturbance they could, by trumping up accusations against them, and fomenting malicious inquiries into their moral character.* Such was the posture of our esta-

* Two instances of this in the year 1688 among many others we have a particular account of, the one of Mr. David Rob-
 nister of Paisley, and the other of Mr. Andrew Darling min-
 blishe

blished church, between the weight of Popish jealousy upon the office, and the insults of Presbyterian malevolence upon the reputation of her clergy, and all the support they had under these different attacks, which the laws could not screen them from, was the maintenance of a good cause, and the comfort of a good conscience.

LETTER
LII.

Yet, under all these discouraging consequences of the indulgence, there was one circumstance lucky for our clergy, that they were not required, as their brethren in England were, to have an active hand in it, by publishing it through the kingdom. In England the King had on the 4th of April 1687 published a declaration, "allowing liberty of conscience, and suspending and dispensing with all tests and penal laws," which he reinforced by another to the same purpose on the 27th of April 1688. And within a few days after an order of council came out, 'commanding this last declaration to be publicly read in time of divine service, on such and such days, in all churches and chapels in the kingdom, and requiring the Bishops to cause copies of it be sent and distributed in their respective diocesses, to be read accordingly.' Against this oppressive and superfluous order, Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who happened to be in town, signed a petition to his Majesty, begging him to dispense with their reading or distributing the said declaration. For this they were charged with framing and presenting a libel, as it was called, and committed to the Tower on the 8th of June, but were acquitted in Westminster-hall on the

at Stithel, both harrassed on the score of alledged scandal by Presbyterian heritors, and blackened by the suborned testimony of Presbyterian witnesses in their respective parishes.

29th,

LETTER 29th, to the great joy of the whole city, and even
 LII. of the army, which the King in person was re-
 viewing on Hounslow-heath at the time.

This was the most fatal of all the unlucky steps that the King had been betrayed into; and the suspicions of his designs against the Protestant religion were greatly increased, by his dealing so harshly, and in such an arbitrary way, with the Bishops, only for doing, with all modesty, what their duty as Bishops both required and entitled them to do. He began at last to see his error, and attempted some rectifications: But it was now too late. The scheme which had been so long forming, and to which all the plots in the last reign, and complaints in this, were so many preparations, was now drawing towards a completion: For in October there came over, 'A Declaration from his Highness William Henry, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange, of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the kingdom of England, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' This Prince of Orange was the King's nephew and son-in-law, which gave him a presumptive title to the crown both by his mother and his wife, and afforded him a pretext for inquiring into the birth of the son, who had been born to the King on the 10th of June before. In this previous declaration, all the faults and illegalities, as they are called, of the administration under both his uncles, are enumerated with sufficient aggravations; and professions of love and regard to the interests of Britain are held forth, in terms of seemingly the most disinterested candour.

When the news of the intended invasion reached

Scotland, the kingdom was universally affected, but from different motives, and with different views. The Presbyterians, who had been long looking for it, were elevated with the near prospect of seeing their wishes gratified; and the Church-men thought it their duty to express their attachment to their Sovereign, at this alarming crisis. The University of St. Andrews drew up an address to the King, signed by the Archbishop, as Chancellor, and by all the Professors and Heads of Colleges, testifying, in strong language, and with abundance of argument, their stedfast adherence to the christian principles of loyalty and obedience, concluding thus; 'And we dare, with the sincerest boldness of our honest hearts, assure your Majesty, that the just and never unfashionable notions of our duty, with the entire trust and confidence which we repose in your Majesty, will ever preserve us from being diverted orighted from our love and obedience, and shall cite our perpetual prayers for the happiness of your Majesty and your kingdoms.' And on the 10th of November, twelve of the Bishops signed and sent up a conjunct letter to the King, where, among other expressions of respect and fidelity, they say, 'We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance to all orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your royal person, prevent the effusion of christian blood, and give such success to your Majesty's arms, that all who invade your just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed and clothed with shame, so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish: And as, by

LETTER ' the grace of God, we shall preserve, in ourselves,
 LII. ' a firm and unshaken loyalty, so we shall be careful
 ~~~~~ ' and zealous to promote, in all your subjects, an  
 ' intemerable and stedfast allegiance to your Ma-  
 ' jesty, as an essential part of their religion, and  
 ' of the glory of our holy profession; not doubt-  
 ' ing but that God, in his great mercy, who  
 ' hath so often preserved and delivered your Ma-  
 ' jesty, will still preserve and deliver you, by  
 ' giving you the hearts of your subjects, and the  
 ' necks of your enemies.' This was all they  
 could, as christian Bishops, do; and I hope it  
 may be said, without giving offence to present  
 times, that, as matters yet stood, they were at  
 least excusable for what they now did. It would  
 seem, by their manner of expression, that they  
 looked upon this threatened invasion as carrying  
 on, and to be effected, entirely by foreign force,  
 without any considerable junction or assistance at  
 home; and it was no way inconsistent with the  
 Protestant character then, more than it would be  
 now, to call any foreign Prince, however  
 nearly related to the crown, the King's ene-  
 my, when he was preparing to invade his king-  
 dom.

But before this dutiful letter could reach the  
 King, the alarming design which occasioned it  
 was effectuated, after an accidental disappoint-  
 ment of some weeks: For on the 5th of Novem-  
 ber 1688, the Prince of Orange landed, with a  
 powerful army, at Torbay in Devonshire, and  
 was soon joined by a great many of those in  
 whom the King had placed the greatest confi-  
 dence: Even his favourite daughter, the Princess  
 Anne, who had been lately married to Prince  
 George of Denmark, deserted her father, and  
 added

added her weight, which was, at that time, far **LETTER**  
from being inconsiderable, to the support of her **LII.**  
brother-in-law's pretensions. By this accession of  
influence, and the continual flocking in of secret  
friends to the Dutch standard, every thing went  
on so successfully with the Prince of Orange, that  
on the 17th of December his forces took possession  
of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's,  
and at midnight, he sent an order to the King to  
remove; which mortifying order, from such a  
quarter, and at such an unseasonable hour, the  
now forsaken Monarch was obliged to submit to,  
and was conveyed under a Dutch guard to Ro-  
chester, where he took shipping for France, hav-  
ing sent over his Queen and young Son some days  
before. Such, and so sudden, was the fate of  
King James VII. of whom I shall say no more  
than what is universally acknowledged, that his  
counsellors were his ruin; and that, whether he  
deserved his fate or not, he certainly did not merit  
such usage at the hands from which he received it.

I am, &c.



## L E T T E R LIII.

*Revolution in Favour of the Prince of Orange—  
Dismal Effects of it in Scotland—The Conven-  
tion of Estates acknowledges K. William and Q.  
Mary—Is turned into a Parliament, and abo-  
lishes Episcopacy—Persecution and Distresses of  
the Episcopal Clergy.*

**A**S soon as the news of the Prince of Orange's success reached Scotland, the Cameronians, or Hill-men, in the West, began such a course of barbarity and licentious violence as would scarcely be credited, if many of the witnesses of, and sufferers under it, had not come down to the knowledge of some who are alive at this day. On receiving certain accounts of his son-in-law being landed, the King had called up all the standing forces from Scotland, to assist in opposing that invasion. This left the nation entirely without defence, and gave all discontented people a fair opportunity of executing their resentments, as their passions and interests moved them: And none having fiercer  
passions,

ons, and more unchristian spite against the <sup>LETTER</sup> ~~plished~~ Church and Clergy, than these Came- <sup>LIII</sup> ~~ans~~, they were not dilatory in seizing the wist- ~~or~~ occasion, and prosecuting their resentment with all imaginable cruelty. Their first out-break was on Christmas Day, when a body of ninety ~~ed men~~ attacked the Minister of Cumnock, and then the Minister of Auchinleck, and proceeded thro' the other clergy of the shire of . On the same day, another band of them in in the Presbytery of Dunbarton, and went in their desolating progress, with equal rage and fury. It is needless to be particular in describing all their barbarous exploits, in the various parts of that miserable country : Suffice it to say, in a short time, the armed rabble had disposed of all the clergy in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Dfddale, Nithfddale, and most of Annandale and Loway, to the number of two hundred : And

Their method, in general, was to assemble in the night in armed bodies here and there, and to force themselves on any man's house against whom they had any private quarrel, particularly those of the clergy, which they plundered and did as they pleased. They then carried the minister to the church-yard, or to some other public place of the town or village, and there, with all the personal abuse they could think of, exposed him as a condemned malefactor ; giving him a strict charge, under the severest penalties, never to preach any more, but to remove himself and family immediately : And, for conclusion of their wanton malice, they never omitted to tear gowns over their heads, and rend them in pieces, or throw them into the flames. When they had done with the poor men themselves, they locked the kirk doors and carried the keys with them. And when any minister was so hardy as expostulate with them, or ask them by what rule of either religion or morality they could justify such excesses, they answered, " By the rule and law of the Solemn League and Covenant, by which they were bound to extirpate Prelacy, and bring malignants to condign punishment."

having

**LETTER** having done their business in these parts, they had  
**LIII.** the boldness, about the end of January, to make  
 ~~~~~ an attempt on the clergy of Edinburgh next, but  
 were stopped for a while in their career, by the
 Members of the College of Justice, and some other
 gentlemen, who armed, and kept guard several
 days, for defence of themselves and their minis-
 ters.

Such was the broken state of the country on
 this sudden dissolution of the Government, and
 so quickly did the contrivers of it seize the oppor-
 tunity of executing what they had been so long
 contriving and aiming at. The executive part
 of the administration, knew not how to act on the
 occasion. The privy council which, by the con-
 stitution of Scotland, had the sole management,
 in the intervals of Parliament, was divided; and
 the discontented faction in it, raised the mob of
 Edinburgh against Perth the chancellor, and carri-
 ed their rage to such a height, that on his en-
 deavouring to escape to France, they sent him pri-
 soner to the castle of Stirling, where he lay four
 years, and then was banished the British domini-
 ons. The Bishops too were at a loss how to pro-
 ceed in their sphere, consistently with duty, and
 character. They had indeed, upon hearing that the
 Prince of Orange was actually landed, commissioned
 two of their number, Dr. Bruce Bishop of Orkney
 and Dr. Rose, lately promoted to the See of Edin-
 burgh, to wait upon the King with a renewed
 tender of their fidelity, and to procure the advice
 and assistance of their English brethren at this
 critical juncture. But before Bishop Rose had
 reached London, having been detained some time
 by his colleague's indisposition, which in end pre-
 vented

vented his attendance altogether, the King was LETTER
gone, and all was anarchy and confusion. LIII.

The Prince had taken up his lodgings at St. James's, and had summoned such members as had served in any of Charles the second's parliaments to meet him at Westminster, by whose advice he called a convention of the three estates of England to sit down on the 22d of January. At the same time such of the Scotch nobility as happened to be in London in the course of office, or had come upon design, had frequent conferences among themselves, about the present state of affairs, and what steps should be taken for the good of the nation. At one of these conferences, the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, who was likewise present, delivered his opinion plainly and honestly in these words; 'I have all the honour and deference imaginable for the Prince of Orange; I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great obligations for contributing so much to our deliverance from Popery: But while I pay these praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his person: I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign away, that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my master's right; for his present absence from us in France can no more affect my duty, than his longer absence from us has done all this while: And therefore, as the Prince has desired our advice, mine is, That we should move his Majesty to return and call a free Parliament for securing our religion and property, which in my humble opinion will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches.'

This

LETTER

This speech however had no effect : For on the 8th of January 1689 it was agreed among them that they should formally wait upon the Prince of Orange, and desire him to call a convention of the Estates of Scotland, to meet on the 14th of March next, and in the mean time to take upon him the administration of their government, to both which his Highness readily assented. Upon this prospect of a temporary administration of justice, Bishop Rose applied to the Bishop of London to use his interest with the Prince to put a stop to the lawless persecutions of the clergy in Scotland, which application his Lordship of London did not incline to have any thing to do with. He next addressed his countryman Dr. Burnet, who had been a great promoter of the Prince's expedition, and was his particular favourite, wishing him to exert himself in behalf of his distressed brethren, but was put off by the Doctor with this silly evasion, ' that he did not meddle in Scots affairs.' The suffering clergy themselves, when they saw no end of their miseries from that unruly rabble, drew up duly-attested accounts of what they had met with in their several presbyteries, and on the 22d of January delegated Dr. Scot, Dean of Glasgow, ' to go up to London, and represent to the Prince of Orange and to the Lords spiritual and temporal, the grievances, oppressions and injuries they were labouring under in Scotland, for their firm adherence to Episcopacy,' undertaking at the same time upon the greatest peril to prove the truth of their allegations, if they could but get a fair hearing.

This seems to have had some weight : For on the 6th of February the Prince gave out a proclamation for keeping the peace in Scotland, ' expressly

refslly prohibiting and discharging all disturbance and violence upon account of religion, or the exercise thereof, or any such like pretence, and that no interruption be made, or, if any hath been made, that it cease, in the free and peaceable exercise of religion, whether in churches or in public or private meetings, of those of a different persuasion, and requiring all men or numbers of men in arms by virtue of any order or authority, and under any title or designation whatever, immediately to separate, dismiss and disband themselves, and retire to their respective dwellings." Yet this proclamation, instead of quenching the flame, rather increased it. The gentlemen who had associated to defend themselves and the regular clergy, having been always taught to respect any appearance of authority, immediately disbanded, and laid down their arms required: But the fanatic mobs became more outrageous and insolent than ever, and continued to use and eject all the clergy whom they could reach. Even in the city of Glasgow, and on the very Sunday after the proclamation had been read, the cross, the Hill-men from the country, assisted by the meeting-house-Presbyterians in the town, insulted the Magistrates and congregation at worship in the high-kirk, and wounded a great many of them before they could get out of their hands. A complaint of this fresh insult was sent up to Dr. Hall, Principal of the college of Glasgow, then at London, who presented the account to the Prince of Orange, but was told that, as the dyet for the meeting of the estates was drawing near, it would be proper to refer all such complaints to the meeting for redress.

LETTER LIII. The Prince of Orange however had by this time got a new addition both to his titles and authority. The English convention, which had^d sat down on the 22d of January, had at last, after a good deal of altercation between the Lords and Commons, agreed, ‘ that King James, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath *abdicated* the government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.’ In consequence of this vote, on the 13th of February both Houses waited on the Prince and Princess of Orange, with a declaration asserting the rights and liberties of the subject, and resolving, ‘ That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, to hold to them during their joint lives and the life of the survivor of them; Remainder to the heirs of the body of the Princess, remainder to the Princess Ann and the heirs of her body, remainder to the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange.’

This was this dark scene cleared up to the expectation of one party, and surprize of another. And now the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was still at London, was denied the freedom of making any farther application, in behalf of the afflicted clergy at home, as he was told, it would not be received, unless he addressed the new King by his new style, which he had no commission from his brethren, nor thought himself at liberty to do. Before he left England, he had a second communion with the Bishop of London, who pressed him much to come into the new King’s measures, with this powerful argument, ‘ You see, my Lord, that the King having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand. The

e Presbyterians have joined him closely, and LETTER
 r to support him, and therefore he cannot LIII.
 : them off, unless he could see how otherwise
 can be served. And he bids me tell you,
 t he now knows the state of Scotland much
 ter than he did when he was in Holland :
 ' while there, he was made to believe, that
 tland generally all over was Presbyterian, but
 w he sees, that the great body of the nobility
 l gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading
 l inferior sort, that are for Presbytery: Where-
 : he bids me tell you, that if you will under-
 e to serve him, to the purpose that he is serv-
 here in England, he will take you by the
 id, support the church and order, and throw
 the Presbyterians.' To this ensnaring pro-
 , Bishop Rose returned such an answer as
 consistent and pertinent enough at the time,
 gave no prospect of either his own or his
 ren's willingness to comply with these terms,
 ever should be the consequence. However
 English Bishop commended his openness and
 uity, and told him, he believed that was real-
 e case. ' For,' said he, ' all this time you
 re been here, neither have you waited on the
 ag, nor have any of your brethren the Scotch
 hops made any addresses to him : So he must
 excused for standing by the Presbyterians.'
 t grounds Bishop Compton had for making
 a proposal, or with what propriety of cha-
 r a proposal of that kind, and under such an
 native, could come from a bishop, I shall not
 upon me to say. But by this narrative from
 op Rose's own pen, which none who ever
 d of the narrator will doubt the truth of, we
 see how matters had been concerted, and what

See Keith's
 Cat.
 p. 43.

LETTER secret encouragement the rabblers had to depend
 LIII. upon in their early and illegal attacks upon the
 Episcopal church.

At last the 14th of March came, and the convention of the estates of Scotland sat down.— There were present the first day, seven of the Bishops who, according to custom, are named in the record before the nobility, Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld, Hay of Moray, Douglas of Dunblain, Ramsay of Ross, Graham of the Isles, and Bruce of Orkney, forty two of the Nobility, forty nine Barons, and fifty Burgeses. Duke Hamilton was chosen President by a majority of ten voices more than the Marquis of Athol had. Their first public transaction on the 16th was receiving and reading a letter from William King of England, expressing ‘ his sense of the kindness and concern that many of their nation have evidenced towards him, and his undertaking, and of the confidence they have in him, and recommending to them to enter, with all speed, upon such consultations, with regard to the public good, and to the general interests and inclinations of the people, as may settle them on sure and lasting foundations of peace.’ The same day they emitted a declaration bearing, that ‘ For as much as there is a letter from King James VII. presented to the meeting of the estates; they before opening thereof declare and enact, that, notwithstanding of any thing that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them or impeding their procedure, yet they are a free and lawful meeting of the estates, and will continue undissolved, till they settle and secure the Protestant religion, and the government, laws and liberties of the Kingdom.’ This preliminary declaration raised a stir among them, and the old



A recourse of mobbing was applied to: For that very day the city-rabble began to affront Lord Dundee, who had always been an eyefore to the Presbyterians, and on the 18th a band of their good friends in the West, who had already done much good service in emptying so many kirks, appeared on the street of Edinburgh, in rank and file, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, and were by order of the meeting put under the command of the Earl of Leven, to form them into regular troops, for adding more weight to their deliberations.

These Cameronian zealots were of great use at this juncture: For they planted themselves in a multuous manner, about all the entries to the Parliament-house, and at every turn insulted the ancient nobility, and gentry, who generally adhered to the Episcopal cause, but especially threatened and abused such of the Bishops as claimed a seat in the Convention: Which riotous and unparliamentary proceedings, meeting with no check, but rather countenanced and forwarded, kept many eminent members from coming near the house, and made the Bishops and sundry others, who had come at first, soon after desert it, and retire for the safety of their persons. At last, having by these means put the meeting formed to their minds, and having also procured a body of standing troops from England under General Mackay, the convention, on the 28th of March dismissed this volunteer assembly of 'the well-affected to the Protestant religion,' as they call them, with a formal act of thanks for their seasonable assistance: and now, being mostly all of one mind, there was little or no dissent in their resolutions. So upon the 1st of April they drew up a list of complaints to the

LETTER to the number of fourteen, against King James

LIII. for all which they ' find and declare King James

the 7th, being a profest Papist, did assume the
' regal power, and acted as King without ever tak-
' ing the oath required by law, and hath by the
' advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the
' fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and
' altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an ar-
' bitrary despotick power, and hath exercised the
' same, to the subversion of the Protestant reli-
' gion, and violation of the laws and liberties of
' the kingdom, and inverting all the ends of go-
' vernment ; whereby he hath *forfaulted* the right
' to the Crown, and the Throne is become vacant.'

Having thus passed sentence of condemnation upon their former King, they proceeded next to vindicate and assert their ancient rights and liberties, by their famous *Claim of Right*, enumerating no fewer than twenty four grievances, which they claim, insist upon, and demand to have rectified, by whatever new settlement shall be made. In this invidious catalogue, the only article of ecclesiastical aspect is the twenty second, which runs thus, ' That Prelacy, and the superiority of any
' office in the church above Presbyters, is, and
' hath been, a great and insupportable grievance
' and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the
' inclinations of the generality of the people, ever
' since the Reformation, they having reformed from
' Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be
' abolished.' This bold assertion, which may well be called the fundamental Charter of the present Presbyterian Kirk, and which, upon examination, has been found to be neither true in fact, nor conclusive in argument, stands here in a most awkward and unconnected position, and differs from
th

the other grievances in the most odious feature of their complexion. The Convention had declared all their other specifications to be "contrary to law;" which, if so, was a sufficient reason for their demanding redress: But in their objections to Prelacy, they could not offer such a charge, as they well knew it had been, and then was, a standing part of the legal constitution; and, therefore, they here change their tone, and fly off to the inclinations of the people, which, one would think, if to be humoured in every thing, would soon unhinge the best and most regular government that ever existed. Yet, incoherent and inconclusive as this allegation was, the party got foisted in among their other complaints, and made it the foundation, such as it was, of the ecclesiastical settlement which they had always had in their eye. And having thus digested their daring Claim of Right, to serve as an original contract between King and People, they come, indeed, to the capital point they were driving at; and 'Having an entire confidence that his Majesty, the King of England, will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, laws, and liberties; the said Estates of the kingdom of Scotland do resolve, that William and Mary, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, be, and be declared King and Queen of Scotland, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom of Scotland, &c.' as in the English form. 'And they do pray the said King and Queen of England to accept the same accordingly.'

At

LETTER At the passing of this decisive resolution, *there*
LIII. were but five dissenting voices in all the house;
 ~~~~~ For many, even of those members who had attended hitherto, would not be present when this strange and unprecedented business was to be in agitation, tho' they afterwards took their seats, and went along with the majority. The Duke of Queensberry, for one, absented himself, from a point of delicacy no doubt, but returned after all was over, and told the House, ' That tho' he ' was not fully convinced of their right to declare ' the Throne vacant, yet, since it was done, he ' acquiesced, and none deserved it so well as the ' Prince and Princess of Orange.' The same day, they ordered the new King and Queen to be solemnly proclaimed at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and then passed an act in confirmation of their own powers; declaring and enacting, ' That ' the Estates will continue in the government as ' formerly, until their Majesties acceptance of the ' Crown, and taking the Coronation Oath, be ' made known to them.' At their next sederunt, on the 13th, they published a Proclamation, ' Certifying all the lieges, that none presume to ' own or acknowledge the late King James VII. ' for their King, nor obey, assist, or correspond ' with him any manner of way; nor by word, ' writing, or preaching, to disown the royal authority of William and Mary, King and Queen ' of Scotland, nor to misconstrue the proceedings ' of the Estates, or create jealousies and misapprehensions against the government, but that all the ' ministers of the gospel within the kingdom, publicly *pray* for King William and Queen Mary, ' as King and Queen of this realm: Requiring ' likewise, the ministers within the city of Edinburgh

burgh, under pain of being deprived, and losing their benefices, to read this proclamation publicly from their pulpits, upon Sunday next, the 24th instant, at the end of the forenoon sermon; and the ministers to the south of the Tay to read it on the 21st, and those to the north of Tay on the 28th, under the above pains: And prohibiting any injury to be offered, by any person whatever, to any minister of the gospel, either in kirks or meeting-houses, who are presently in possession and exercise of their ministry therein, they behaving themselves as becometh under the present government: And ordains this proclamation to be printed and published, that none may pretend ignorance.

LETTER  
LIII.

On the 18th of April, they drew up a form of oath to be administered to the new King and Queen, at their acceptance of the Crown, by which they are required to swear, that 'We will serve the eternal God to the utmost of our power, according as he has commanded in his most holy word, revealed and contained in the Old and New Testaments; and, according to the same word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and the true and right ministration of the sacraments, now received and preached within the realm of Scotland; and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion, contrary to the same, &c. And we shall be careful to root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the said crimes; out of our lands and empire of Scotland: And all this we faithfully affirm by our solemn oath.' With this oath, and a suitable letter, they deputed, on the 24th of April, the Earl of

LETTER Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John  
 LIII. Dalrymple, properly instructed, to attend their  
 ~~~~~ Majesties with the offer of the Crown; which, upon  
 the 11th of May, they formally accepted, under
 all the conditions and limitations annexed to it;
 and, on the 24th, by their now royal authority,
 turned the present Convention into a Parliament,
 to sit down as such on the 5th of June next, with
 Duke Hamilton to be High Commissioner.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, they met;
 and after declaring themselves to be a free and law-
 ful Parliament, and recognizing their Majesties
 royal authority, they rescinded all former oaths of
 allegiance and supremacy, declarations and tests,
 except the new oath, ' To be faithful, and bear
 ' true allegiance to their Majesties, King William
 ' and Queen Mary;' which they require to be
 sworn and subscribed by all persons presently in
 public trust, civil or military, or who shall be
 hereafter called to any public trust within the king-
 dom. Upon the 22d of July, they passed the
 following famous Act against the old standing
 Church. ' Whereas the Estates of this kingdom,
 ' in their Claim of Right of the 11th of April last,
 ' declared, that Prelacy is an insupportable griev-
 ' ance, &c. our Sovereign Lord and Lady with
 ' advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament,
 ' do hereby abolish Prelacy, and all superiority of
 ' any office in the church of this kingdom above
 ' Presbyters; and hereby rescinds, casses, and
 ' annuls three Acts of Parliament under Charles
 ' II. and all other acts, statutes and constitutions,
 ' in so far allenarly, as they are inconsistent with
 ' this act, and establish Prelacy, or superiority of
 ' church officers above Presbyters: And their Ma-
 ' jesties do declare, that they, with advice and
 ' consent

'consent foresaid, will settle, by law, that church government in this kingdom, which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.'—

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LIII.

They next rescinded the forfeiture of the late Earl of Argyle; and having appointed a select Committee to discuss business in the interval, this Convention-Parliament rose on the second of August, leaving in little more than four months new-modelled the state, and thrown the church out of her gal constitution; tho' it would seem, from the six weeks and more, between the 5th of June and the end of July, spent in deliberation, it had cost no small struggle to bring this parliamentary attack upon the church to a final issue.

Let us now see what was a-doing among the once established clergy, under these important transactions of various kinds, which they had not been looking for, and could not be guarded against. The poor men in the West, who had been early rabbled out of their livings, were miserably disappointed in any expectation they might have reasonably entertained of redress from the Convention of Estates, when they so soon saw that Convention patronizing their persecutors, and employing them in the public service. And their disappointment could not but be doubled, when they found, by the Proclamation of the 13th of April, that what little favour was meant towards the clergy, was only a distant promise of protection to such ministers as were in actual possession of their kirks at that date, which was an exclusion, and perhaps a designed one, of hundreds who had been by violence thrust, and by terror kept out, all the time. This was a silent blow to the first sufferers: But that hurried proclamation was an open and declared stroke upon them all. The

LETTER clergy of Edinburgh, in particular, were to *be*
 LIII. pitied, who, by their situation, could not have
 many hours to deliberate upon a matter of such
 importance, as transferring their sworn allegiance
 from one King, and preaching and praying it over
 to another. Nor were their brethren thro' the
 rest of the kingdom in a much better plight, as
 even a fortnight, which was the utmost term al-
 lowed to the most remote, could not be thought
 to afford much time after notification, for pro-
 perly pondering such a serious affair.

The ejecting Act of 1662, which the Presby-
 terians cry out against, allowed the possessors full
 four months, from May to September, to advise
 whether they could or would comply with the
 terms enjoined for keeping their kirks: And if
 that act of a fair Parliament shall be deemed cruel
 and arbitrary, what shall be said of this decree of
 but a thin Convention, requiring, under pain of
 deprivation, as difficult a piece of obedience as that
 Parliament had proposed, and that too upon scarce
 so many days warning as the Parliament had given
 months? This plea of want of time was urged
 with great propriety, especially by the Edin-
 burghers, many of whom being at hand, were
 called in question, and turned out for their dis-
 obedience, before their Majesties of England had
 accepted the Scottish Crown; and consequently,
 before it could have been any fault not to owe
 them, or pray for them in Scotland. Another
 material defence too, which all the clergy who
 did not read the proclamation made use of, was,
 That it was not transmitted to them by their re-
 spective Ordinaries, which had been the appointed
 form with all papers that were to be read from the
 pulpits; and therefore, as the order of Bishops
 was

was not then abolished, but still made a third LETTER
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 Estate of Parliament, they pled, that they were
 not obliged in law to take notice of any public pa-
 per, that came not to their hands in the accus-
 tomed legal manner. And in this argument, they had
 the concurrence of the Prince of Orange himself,
 in his prefatory Declaration for England, where,
 among the many miscarriages of King James'
 reign, he mentions the censuring the clergy who
 did not read the King's Indulgence as one, 'with-
 out considering,' he says, 'that the reading of
 it was not enjoined the clergy by the Bishops,
 who are their Ordinaries.' Yet, such was the
 partiality of these times, that this plea, however
 solid and parallel, was over-ruled, and the clergy
 who acted in the faith of its strength, were born
 down and spoiled of their livings, in defiance of
 former law and justice.

This course of hasty severity was continued from
 the 13th of April to the first of August, upon all
 the clergy in the neighbourhood, whom the Court
 of Inquiry could reach in that space, and presents
 us with a second class of sufferers, who were eject-
 ed by the Convention of Estates. But when the
 Parliament adjourned, the examination became
 more extensive, and there was time to look to the
 more distant parts of the kingdom. The Privy
 Council, with the zealous Earl of Crawford at
 their head, being now vested with their usual
 powers, and having got the great grievance of
 Prelacy removed, gave out an order on the 6th,
 and repeated it on the 22d of August, 'Allowing
 and inviting the parishioners and hearers, of such
 ministers as have neglected and slighted the
 reading of the Proclamation, and have not pray-
 ed for King William and Queen Mary, to cite
 such

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‘ such ministers before the Privy Council ; and
‘ grants warrant for citing and adducing witnesses
‘ to prove the same, that such ministers as have
‘ disobeyed may, by a legal sentence, be deprived
‘ of their benefices : And ordains, that these pre-
‘ sents be published at the Market-cross of Edin-
‘ burgh, and other places needful, that none may
‘ pretend ignorance.’

This was letting loose the rabble of enemies, in a sort of legal way, upon any who had the misfortune of even but one or two of these malicious people in the neighbourhood, and it answered the designed end. For one or two in a parish, and in many places the agents of the faction, borrowed mens names without their knowledge, to fill up their citations against the minister ; upon which a charge was given to him to appear at Edinburgh within so many days, before the Privy Council, which if he did not obey, he was summarily deprived for contumacy ; and if he appeared, and offered defences, it went no better with him, unless he could prove that he had complied with both parts of the proclamation, which few of them that were cited could do. So this drove out, by way of third service, most of the parochial clergy in the Merse, Lothians, Fife, Stirling-shire and Perth-shire, besides some in Aberdeen, Moray and Ross, who had been particularly informed against.

7 But besides all this, another method was tried to strike at any of the episcopal clergy whom, they feared, the torture of the proclamation could not touch. The privy council on the 14th of August, appointed a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to be kept on Sunday the 15th of September for the southern, and on the 22d for the northern parts

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arts of the kingdom, and enforced their appointment with a canting proclamation, squinting at episcopacy among the sins of the late times, and reflecting on it as the great hindrance of the gospel-work of reformation. This proclamation they ordered the ministers to read, by way of intimation of the fast, on the Sunday before, and on the Sunday of observance: And if any neglected to obey this injunction, as few who had any regard for Episcopacy, or understood the primitive design of the Lord's day, could with any good grace obey it, they were sure to be deprived, upon that one score, without any other charge or accusation. This was arbitrary with a witness, and as exorbitant a stretch of Erastian supremacy, as ever had been exercised in times of highest complaint.— But there was no help. Episcopacy was to be rooted out at any rate, and whatever or whoever but seemed to favour that way, was not to be tolerated in the least. Even these clergy who had gone all lengths, and complied with every state-requisition, were not much safer than their outstanding brethren. For when the council could not take hold of them, the useful rabble continued to do the work, and were as busy in ejecting as ever; for which insolence, and tho' when they were put in mind of King William's authority, they daringly replied, 'that they cared not for King William nor his authority either,' they were never checked, nor so much as called in question.

Nor was this all the ill-nature that was shewn to the episcopal clergy at this time. For lest any of them who had been so barbarously thrust out of their houses and kirks should, upon application to the civil judicatories, have a chance of recovering their

LETTER their current stipends, or bygone arrears, which
 LIII. were most unjustly detained from them, to the
 utter starving of many a poor family, the privy
 council, to shut this probable door of relief, gave
 out an act on the 29th of December 1689, finding
 ' that the case of the ministers who were not in
 ' the actual exercise of their ministerial functions
 ' on the 13th of April last, being dependent be-
 ' fore the Parliament, is not obvious to be cog-
 ' nosced upon, and decided by the inferior judges,
 ' but that the same should be left entire, to the
 ' decision of Parliament; therefore the Lords have
 ' thought fit, to signify to all inferior courts and
 ' ministers of the law, that the matter above men-
 ' tioned is depending before the Parliament, to
 ' the effect they may regulate and govern them-
 ' selves, in the judging of all processes to be in-
 ' tented before them, upon the said matter, or
 ' in executing the sentences already pronounced
 ' thereupon, as they will be answerable.' No
 man, I think, can doubt that this was a most
 cruel as well as unjust decree: Cruel to the wretch-
 ed sufferers, who had been by law installed in
 their possessions, and against whom no process had
 been laid, nor so much as accusation intended:
 And unjust, in thus overawing the standing civil
 judicatories, which not many years ago would
 have been a flaming grievance, if it had been at-
 tempted.

But it had the designed effect. For the judges
 did not chuse to meddle after the passing of such
 an act, when they saw how darkly and indistinctly
 it was worded, and could not but know how
 ready such a council would be to bring them
 to trouble, if they should give it an interpretation
 contrary to its original intention, however conso-
 nant

ant to the standing rules of both law and equi- LETTER
 y. So these poor clergy were in a most melan- LIII.
 choly condition, not only deprived of the yearly
 emoluments annexed to their office, but likewise
 by this iniquitous interposition of the privy coun-
 cil, debarred from any possibility of recovering
 what arrears were due to them for former servi-
 ces, which their persecutors could pretend no title
 to, and which, after this authoritative stop, their
 debtors would not be much inclined to pay. And
 here again let it be remembered how different the
 procedure in a like case was, at the restoration of
 Episcopacy in 1662. The Parliament then, tho'
 they found that the Presbyterian ministers who
 had taken possession of kirks without presentation
 from the legal patrons, had no right nor title to
 the benefices, and therefore declared all such kirks
de jure vacant, yet they declared at the same
 time, 'that this act shall not be prejudicial to
 any of these ministers in what they have pos-
 sessed, or is due to them, since their admission,'
 which, whether we shall call it justice or not, was
 at least a singular instance of favour and indul-
 gence.

But in this inhibitory act of the now privy
 council, it was neither justice nor mercy, to de-
 prive men of the wages which they had faithfully
 and legally laboured for, and thereby keep many
 an indigent and numerous family in the most de-
 plorable misery and want. Nor did it fare much
 better with the Bishops themselves, to whom the
 inferior clergy had been in use to look up for pro-
 tection, as well as to depend upon them for di-
 rection and discipline. Their Prelacy had been
 already abolished, by an act which stripped them of
 all power in the state, tho' it could not hurt their

LETTER pre-eminence in the church, and now to reduce
 LIIL. them as far as possible to the same level of poverty
 ~~~~~ and contempt with their clergy, the privy council  
 on the 19th of September following, published an  
 order, signifying ‘ his Majesty’s royal pleasure  
 ‘ that warrant be given to Alexander Hamilton  
 ‘ of Kinkell’ (who by the bye had been taken in  
 the rebellion at Bothwellbridge, but was pardon-  
 ed by the clemency of the then government) ‘ to  
 ‘ draw and uplift the tythes and other rents of  
 ‘ the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, and that fit  
 ‘ persons be appointed for drawing and uplifting  
 ‘ the tythes and rents of the other Bishopricks,  
 ‘ for this present crop and year of God 1689.  
 ‘ Therefore the Lords of privy council having no-  
 ‘ minated and appointed fit persons for that pur-  
 ‘ pose, do in their Majesties name and authority  
 ‘ prohibit and discharge all and sundry persons  
 ‘ who were liable in payment of any rent or duty  
 ‘ to Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, or any others  
 ‘ of superior order and dignity in the church a-  
 ‘ bove Presbyters, from paying or allowing to  
 ‘ be paid any teinds, rental bolls, feu, blanch,  
 ‘ or tack-duties or other rents, casualties and emo-  
 ‘ luments formerly payable to the Bishops and  
 ‘ others foresaid, except to such persons as shall  
 ‘ be authorized by the privy council for the up-  
 ‘ lifting thereof, with certification if they do in  
 ‘ contrary hereof, they shall be liable therefore,  
 ‘ notwithstanding any pretended discharge that  
 ‘ may be impetrated, or obtained from any other  
 ‘ person or persons, for the said crop and year  
 ‘ 1689.’

This was quick and summary work, and much  
 more oppressive measure than was given at the re-  
 formation to the Popish Bishops, who were allow-  
 ed

ed to hold and possess two thirds of their benefices at their own calculation to their dying day. But our Protestant Bishops were not to be so gently dealt with, even by a Protestant administration, which at one dash could thus sweep away the small remainder of church-spoil into the exchequer, without allowing the old titulars the smallest portion of it for their necessary subsistence. In this strange state of confusion and anarchy stood the external constitution of a christian church in a christian land all this while. The Bishops turned out of their government, and most of the Presbyters out of their ministry: Episcopacy itself, which had been confirmed by so many acts of free and unquestionable Parliaments, struck down at one blow, and nothing as yet set up in its room: The Cameronians indeed, these true sons of the Covenant, driving up and down, in the gracious employment of emptying kirks by strength of hand, and the Popish King's indulged and addressing friends, the bastard but most numerous brood of that mother, running here and there in quest of prey, and taking hold, tho' but for a day, of the kirks and stipends which their active brethren were every now and then vacating for them: While the once legally settled Episcopalians, whether outstanders or compliers, durst, in such places as these rabblers had access to, scarcely shew their heads, and had little or nothing, but the charity of friends, on which to support themselves and their dependents.

I am, &c.

LETTER



LETTER  
LIV.  
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## L E T T E R    L I V .

*Further Proceedings of the Revolution Parliament—  
It settles the Presbyterian Church Government—  
And passes sundry Acts in favour of it—Visita-  
tion of the Universities—A Meeting of Minis-  
ters and Lay-Elders held at Edinburgh—First  
General Assembly of the now established Kirk—  
Account of its various Transactions.*

**U**NDER all the appearances in their favour mentioned in my last letter, the Presbyterian party were for some time in no little suspense and uncertainty. The new Parliament had indeed abolished Prelacy, but had not agreed what form of Church Government to introduce in its stead. Several schemes had been thought and talked of, but none had pleased all parties, and their church continued in a mere chaos, without form, and void of government for near twelve months. A petition had been presented to the House, under the title of ‘An humble Address from the Presby-  
terian

1 Ministers and Professors of the Church of and.' But Duke Hamilton, the Commissioner, finding some things in it, which he thought unreasonable, and not to be admitted, rejected it, could not allow it to be tabled. This was a great disappointment from that quarter, and themselves threw in another soon after.

LETTER I  
LIV.

When the act had passed for abolishing Prelacy, the Commissioner, by orders from court, presented to the House, a ' Draught of an Act for establishing the Church Government;' which, intended to settle Presbytery in general, but contained an invidious clause in the midst of it, to this effect: ' In regard that much trouble hath ensued unto the State, and many sad Confusions, Scandalous schisms have fallen out in the Church, by church-men meddling in matters of state; therefore, their Majesties, with advice and consent aforesaid, do hereby discharge Ministers of the gospel, within this kingdom, to meddle with any state affairs, either in their Sessions or judicatories, publicly or privately, under the pain of being holden as disaffected to government, and proceeded against accordingly: And declares, that the jurisdiction of the Church stands only in the preaching of the true Word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners by ecclesiastical censures, and administration of the sacraments, conform to the 69th act James VI. Parliament 6.: And it is declared, that their Majesties, if they shall think fit, may have always one present in all the Provincial and Presbyterial Assemblies, as they have in the General Assemblies, that in case any affair that concerns state or civil matters, and that does not belong to the jurisdiction of the church, shall come

in

LETTER ' in before the saids Assemblies, the said persons  
 LIV. ' appointed by their Majesties, shall inhibit and  
 ~~~~~ ' discharge every such Assembly to proceed in any  
 ' such affair, till their Majesties, and the Privy
 ' Council, be acquainted with the same, that they
 ' may declare their pleasure thereanent.' This
 disagreeable restriction, which the experience of
 former times made necessary, and which appears
 to contain nothing in it inconsistent with purely
 ecclesiastical freedom; yet, being such a check
 on their pragmatistical humours, and so severe a
 blow from such hands upon their former Assem-
 blies, especially their dear one of 1638, gave uni-
 versal offence to the leaders of the party in the
 House, who had interest enough to get it thrown
 out, not without a good deal of indignation and
 contempt: And one of their Preachers, who then
 served as Chaplain to the Parliament, was so dis-
 gusted at it, that he publicly said, ' rather than
 ' admit of such a mangled mongrel Presbytery,
 ' they would beg back the Bishops again.'

With these heats and divisions, the first Session
 of the Revolution Parliament rose, without fixing
 any new ecclesiastical model in room of the old
 one. And now, in this disjointed situation of
 things, people's heads began to settle a little, after
 such a giddiness; and the sudden zeal, which
 many had lately taken up for Presbyterian Parity,
 cooled and relented a good deal of its first fervour.

They had time now, in this interval, to reflect
 and examine, whether Prelacy had really been
 such an insupportable grievance as the Convention
 of Estates had represented it; and when they com-
 pared their own experience of it, with their re-
 membrance of the rampant days of the *Covenant*,
 they could not in honesty agree to the representa-
 tion,

On. In short, so far did these reasonings and re-
 collections prevail, that ' the inclinations of the
 generality of the people' appeared in a different
 light from what the party expected, and there was
 little solicitude amongst them, lest they had mis-
 taken their measures, and their darling Presbytery
 might chance not to be established as they would
 wish it. This set all hands to work, and the whole
 was busied, in their several spheres, to acquit
 themselves with suitable diligence and application,
 and have every thing ready against next Session of
 Parliament. The pulpits every where resounded
 the praises of Presbytery in strains of the highest
 and almost blasphemous panegyric, and the presses
 were not idle on the same subject, and in throw-
 ing out all the odium against Episcopacy that could
 be invented or thought of: While the Episcopal
 writers, who were equally able and willing to en-
 ter the lists on the other side, might have as soon
 attempted to pull a star out of the firmament, as
 get one sheet published in defence of that cause,
 under the iniquitous pretext of reflecting on the
 civil government; which, indeed, in that infant
 and unsettled state of it, was not easily avoided.
 And as the Preachers were thus triumphantly em-
 ployed, so the great leaders among the nobility,
 Crawford, Sutherland, Cardros, Ross, &c. were
 active and pressing, with the rhetoric of argument
 and weight of influence, to bias and secure what
 numbers they could, against the approaching
 trial.

But the luckiest circumstance of all in their fa-
 vour, was the change of the High Commissioner.
 The Duke of Hamilton, whom, tho' to the sur-
 prise of many, he had gone all lengths with them
 in their designs upon the state, they suspected as
 not

LETTER not staunch enough to their Church Plan, was
 LIV. laid aside from that office, and the Lord, now
 created Earl, Melvil, who had been a Confessor
 for the cause, if we dare not call him a rebellious
 Conspirator, in the two last reigns, came down
 Commissioner in his room. With this auspicious
 prelude, the Parliament met, on the 15th of April
 1690; and the first thing they did, was to 'ab-
 'rogate, rescind, and annul, the Assertory Act of
 '1669, as inconsistent with the establishment of
 'the church government *now desired.*' This was
 one great point gained, tho' it lay open to two ill-
 looking reflections. It was thought not a little
 preposterous to condemn an Act of Parliament,
 because inconsistent with an imaginary thing,
 which had no real being, and only existed in the
 desires and wishes of a certain party: And tho'
 they got this one offensive law out of the way,
 there still stood unrepealed, many other acts assert-
 ing the supremacy in terms equally injurious to
 their bold claims, and which their zealous prede-
 cessors, the Melvils, Blakes, &c. of James VI's
 days, exclaimed against, and used to call, 'the
 'bloody gullies of arbitrary power.'

But whatever incongruities were in this repeal,
 it gave the party the satisfaction of finding their
 strength on the increasing hand, and encouraged
 them to come briskly forward with the petition,
 which they had prepared and lost in the last
 Session. This petition was in high language of
 praise and compliment, and being entirely to the
 Commissioner's taste, was received with open arms.
 In consequence of which, the Parliament went a
 step further, and on the 25th, passed the follow-
 ing act: 'Forasmuch as many Ministers of the
 'Presbyterian persuasion, since the first of January
 '1661,

1661, have been deprived of their kirks, or **LETTER**
 banished, for not conforming to Prelacy, and **LIV.**
 not complying with the courses of the times ;
 therefore, their Majesties, with advice and con-
 sent of Parliament, ordain and appoint, that all
 such Ministers have forthwith free access to their
 kirks, and that they may presently exercise their
 ministry in those parishes without any new call
 thereto, allowing the whole stipend for 1689,
 where the kirks are vacant, and where they are not
 vacant, the half year's stipend from Whitsunday
 to Michaelmas, and the half year's before that to
 the present incumbents ; who are hereby order-
 ed, upon intimation hereof, to desist from their
 ministry in such parishes, and to remove from
 the manses and glebes, betwixt and Whitsunday
 next, that the Presbyterian Ministers, formerly
 put out, may enter peaceably thereto : And
 appoints the Privy Council to see this act put in
 execution.' Which appointment, we need not
 doubt, such a well-affected Privy Council would
 cheerfully undertake, and execute with all com-
 mendable severity : But with what shadow of jus-
 tice will appear, when it is remembered, that these
 Ministers, before 1661, had possessed themselves
 against all law, and in violation of private pro-
 perty ; for which illegal intrusion it was, and not
 on the score of Non-conformity or Non-compli-
 ance, that they lost what they never had a just
 title to, so could not be restored to such posses-
 sions, without homologating the injustice by which
 they first obtained them.

And now the way being thus paved, by two
 such gracious preliminaries, for the grand question,
 a Committee of eighteen select persons was order-
 ed to prepare a Bill for settling the Presbyterian

LETTER Church Government; which, being properly di-
 LIV. gested by the help of the ablest and most zealous
 of the Ministers, was, on the 23d of May, pre-
 sented to the House, and voted on the 28th, in
 this form:— ‘ Our Sovereign Lord and Lady—
 ‘ Likeas, by an Act of the last Session of this
 ‘ Parliament, Prelacy is abolished; therefore,
 ‘ they hereby revive, ratify, and perpetually con-
 ‘ firm, all acts made against Popery and Papists,
 ‘ &c. Likeas they, by these presents, ratify and
 ‘ establish the Westminster Confession of Faith,
 ‘ now read in their presence, and voted, and ap-
 ‘ proven by them, as the public and allowed Con-
 ‘ fession of this Church, containing the sum and sub-
 ‘ stance of the doctrine of the reformed churches:
 ‘ As also, they do establish, ratify, and confirm, the
 ‘ Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline
 ‘ by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods,
 ‘ and General Assemblies, ratified and established
 ‘ by an act of James VI. in 1592, which act is
 ‘ hereby revived and confirmed in the whole heads
 ‘ thereof, except in that part of it relating to Pa-
 ‘ tronages: Rescinding, annulling, and making
 ‘ void, four acts of James VI. and five of Charles II.
 ‘ with all other acts, laws, statutes, ordinances,
 ‘ and proclamations, in as far as they are contrary
 ‘ or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or deroga-
 ‘ tory from, the Protestant Religion and Presby-
 ‘ terian Government now established: Allowing
 ‘ and declaring, that the church government be
 ‘ in the hands of, and exercised by, these Presby-
 ‘ terian Ministers who were ousted since the first
 ‘ of January 1661, and are now restored by the
 ‘ late act, and of such Ministers and Elders only,
 ‘ as they have admitted, or hereafter shall admit;
 ‘ and appointing the first Meeting of the General
 ‘ Assembly

Assembly of this Church, as above established, LETTER
 to be at Edinburgh, on the third Thursday of LIV.
 October, in this present year 1690: And be-
 cause many conformed Ministers either have de-
 serted, or were removed from preaching in their
 Kirks, preceding the 13th of April 1689, and
 others were deprived for not giving obedience
 to the Act of the Estates, in their Proclamation of
 that date; therefore declares, all the Kirks de-
 serted, or removed and deprived from, as said is,
 to be vacant, and that the Presbyterian Ministers
 exercising their ministry within any of those
 parishes, or where the last incumbent is dead,
 by the desire and consent of the parish, shall
 continue their possession, and have right to the
 stipends, according to their entry in the year
 1689: And, that the disorders which have
 happened in this church may be redressed, they
 allow the general meeting and representatives of
 the foresaid Presbyterian Ministers and Elders,
 either by themselves, or by visitors authorised by
 them, to try and purge out all insufficient, negli-
 gent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers, by
 due course of ecclesiastical process and censures:
 Ordaining, that whatever Minister, being sum-
 moned before these visitors, shall refuse to ap-
 pear, or on appearing, shall be found guilty by
 them, every such Minister shall by their sentence
 be, *ipso facto*, suspended from or deprived of
 their Kirks, Stipends, and Benefices.

This important and complex act, thus framed,
 was twice read over in the House, and many ar-
 ticles in it long and strongly debated. The intro-
 ductory petition had desired the establishment of
 the Westminster Directory and Catechisms, as
 well as the Confession: But the reading the Con-

LETTER fession had taken up so much time, that Duke

LIV. Hamilton objected to the reading any more such
 w abstruse and tedious compositions; and the brethren finding, upon recollection, that the Directory recommended the stated use of the Lord's Prayer, and expressly ordered the regular reading of the scriptures in public every Lord's day as a part of worship, both which they had begun to disuse as superstitious, the Duke's objection was sustained, and these two formulas left out. Another article much contended, was the putting the whole Church Government into the hands of those old Ministers, who were turned out in 1661, which had so much displeased Duke Hamilton, in their petition last year. Against this clause, a petition was presented to the House, by the Laird of Stonywood, in name of the Episcopal Complicers, but was rejected with contempt; because, indeed, the petitioners called themselves Ministers of the Episcopal persuasion, compared themselves, for abilities, with their Presbyterian enemies, whom they declined as their judges, craved a free conference with them, and undertook to defend the lawfulness of Episcopacy; all which the Commissioner, Melvil, deemed such a piece of presumption, as was not to be tolerated, much less indulged.

Another northern member next proposed an amendment, ' That at least these presbyterian ministers who had been deposed by their own judicatories, before the restitution of Episcopacy in 1662, might not be included in the number of those known sound Presbyterians, in whose hands the Government was to be established in the first instance.' But this motion was slighted likewise, for a reason which we shall hear of afterwards.

wards. Then Duke Hamilton got up, and argued strenuously against the glaring partiality of the clause, 'For what was this,' he said, 'but instead of fourteen prelati cal Bishops, to give unlimited authority to fifty or sixty Presbyterian ones, from whom the Episcopal clergy could expect little justice, and less mercy?' But all was in vain: The article stood as we see it, and the Duke's fears were soon verified.

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But the article which met with most opposition, and gave greatest offence to every man of probity within the house, was the hardship put upon those ministers, who had been expelled by the lawless rabble. Upon this head the Duke of Hamilton was particularly warm, and strongly enforced a moving supplication, which Sir Patrick Scot of Ancrum offered from these unhappy sufferers, for redress: 'It was wonderful,' the Duke said, 'to call these men *Deserters*, when it was notorious all the kingdom over, that they were driven away by the most barbarous violence, and it was no less wonderful to declare their kirks vacant, because of their being removed from them: For what could be the sense of the word *Removed*' in this case, but just neither more nor less than *Rabbed*?' and what might the world think of the justice of the Parliament, if it should sustain that as sufficient ground for declaring 'their kirks vacant?' with a great deal more to the same purpose. But neither the Duke's eloquence, nor the equity of the request, nor any argument that could be used, availed in the least. The article was voted as it stands, and carried by a considerable majority: Upon which the Duke, not able to stifle his indignation, told the house plainly, 'That he was sorry he should ever have
' fat

LETTER ' sat in a Scottish Parliament, where such naked
LIV. ' iniquity was to be established into a law: That
it was impossible Presbyterian government could
stand, being built upon such a foundation: And
it grieved him to the heart to consider, what a
reflexion this act would bring upon the govern-
ment and justice of the nation: And with this
he left the house in great heat, and a good num-
ber of members went out with him. When he
was gone, it was immediately proposed to vote
the whole act in the lump, which provoked the
Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Linlithgow,
and Balcarras, and many of the gentry, to retire
next. So none but those of the party remained,
except a few who stayed to vote against the act,
from two different motives; one part, that it might
not be said, that Presbytery was established with-
out any opposition; and another, because it was not
established in its proper plenitude of power and
independency.

Thus was this famous act prepared on the 28th
of May for the Royal assent, which it received on
the 7th of June, and so obtained that force and
authority which it has retained ever since. On
the 29th of May, the Earl of Linlithgow gave in-
to the house a draught of an act, ' for giving to-
leration to those of the Episcopal persuasion to
worship God after their own manner, and par-
ticularly that whoso were inclined to use the
English Liturgy might do it safely.' Which, by
the bye, shews that tho' our clergy at this time
had no authorised form imposed on them, they had
no aversion to set forms, but were acquainted
with, and willing to make use of the English book,
which they found ready composed to their hands.
This paper had the same fate that every other me-
tion

of that kind had met with : For tho' they ^{LETTER}
did not in decency refuse it a reading, being ^{LIV.}
presented by so respectable a member, it was no
more taken notice of one way or other.

The next act relative to church-business which
passed in this session, was the act of July 4th for vi-
sitation of universities and schools, ordering, sta-
tuting and enacting, ' that from this time forth,

Principals, Professors, Regents, Masters or
others bearing office in any university, college or
school within the kingdom, be either admitted
or allowed to continue in the exercise of their
said functions, but such as do acknowledge and
profess, and shall subscribe to the confession of
faith ratified and approven in this present Parli-
ament, and shall swear and subscribe the oath of
allegiance to their present Majesties, and shall be
of a loyal and peaceable conversation, of suffici-
ent literature, and submitting to the govern-
ment of the church, now established by law :
And appointing fifteen of the nobility, twenty-
eight of the gentry, and twenty ministers to be
commissioners, with full power and commission to them
to choose a quorum of them, to meet, visit, take trial,
censure out and remove according to the foresaid
qualifications, and their first meeting for that
purpose to be at Edinburgh on the 23d instant,
with power afterwards to adjourn and meet as
they shall see convenient, as long as while their Ma-
jesties recall and discharge this commission.' On
the 19th of July they discharged, annulled and
made void the old power heretofore exercised by
patron, of presenting Ministers to any kirk
vacant, or that shall hereafter happen to vaik
in this kingdom, with all exercise of the said
power, statuting and declaring, ' that henceforth
' in

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‘ in the vacancy of any particular church, and
 ‘ for supplying the same with a minister, the Pro-
 ‘ testant heritors and elders are to name and pro-
 ‘ pose the person to the whole congregation, to be
 ‘ either approved or disapproved by them, and if
 ‘ they disapprove, they are to give in their reasons
 ‘ to the effect the affair may be cognosed upon
 ‘ by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judg-
 ‘ ment, and by whose determination the calling
 ‘ and entry of every particular minister is to be
 ‘ ordered and concluded, reserving to the Presby-
 ‘ teries the right of *jure devoluto*, and to royal
 ‘ burghs the calling of their ministers, as in use
 ‘ before the year 1660: In recompence of which
 ‘ right of presentation, the heritors of every pa-
 ‘ rish are to pay the patron 600 merks, against
 ‘ a certain time, and under certain proportions.’

It is to be observed, that even this act says no-
 thing of the popular call, or of that divine right
 which the simple people were made to believe
 they had of choosing their own ministers. They
 might disapprove indeed, as caprice or affection
 led them, and thereby throw the decision on the
 Presbytery, but had no more concern in the ori-
 ginal nomination than ever they had. The heri-
 tors and elders were put in the place of the patron,
 a number of men more or fewer, as it might
 happen, instead of one, and the divine right of
 the people, that great idol of Presbyterian veneration,
 was bought and sold like any common bar-
 gain. The present murmurers against patronages,
 which were restored twenty years after this, and
 with which their kirk has been saddled ever since,
 have been taught to despise this defective act of
 King William, and to look back with a wishful
 fondness to the favourite decree of 1649, which
 gave:

gave them all the room for confusion and tumult in the election of ministers, that their hearts could desire, and which therefore they are always petitioning to have revived, and set a-going again : Not considering how indelicate it is to propose or expect that a regular administration of any kind should be ruled by the deed of a packed, puny convention, which every subsequent change of government seems to have abhorred, at least has not thought it worth the while to take notice of, either to abrogate or confirm it. Yet this act, tho' it gave little to the people, was pleasing enough to the kirk, as in the result it put the whole power into their hands more effectually than if the popular election had been sustained in its full extent.

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But there was another act made the same day, which had a clause in it of a less palatable nature. For after rescinding in general all former acts, and all parts and provisions in any act whatsoever, made since the year 1661 inclusive, against nonconformity, or for conformity to the church and government thereof, as then established under Archbishops and Bishops, they ' rescind, cass, and annull ' all acts for denouncing excommunicate persons, ' and anent sentences of excommunication, with ' all other sentences of the same import, and but ' prejudice of this generality, all acts enjoining ' civil pains upon sentences of excommunication ' whatever.' This was taking out the sting of excommunication, which had been so terrible, and had produced such grievous effects, under every prevailing system of church discipline. Indeed it was much to be regretted, that any scheme of reformation, real or pretended, should have retained one of the most scandalous corruptions of

LETTER LIV. Popery, introduced in one of the darkest ages, and first put in practice by one of the most overbearing Popes, Gregory VII. to the manifest hurt of civil society, and to the total disregard of the original design of that spiritual power committed to the church, not for destruction, but for edification, by mortifying the soul, not by punishing the body, or seizing the goods of the offender.— This abuse was luckily now removed, and the Episcopal clergy both then and since, amidst all the hardships of subjection which this Parliament laid them under to the new establishment, are in so far obliged to it for thus curtailing the dangerous extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by this salutary act, and thereby putting it out of the kirk's power to distress those of a different persuasion so much, as by their avowed principles and with their former privileges, they would in all probability have done.

Of the same date were other two acts of ecclesiastical concern passed in this session : One vesting the superiorities and other casualties, which formerly belonged to the church, in the crown, to be henceforth holden of their Majesties and their successors : And another entitled, ' Act and commission for plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds,' founded, as the act bears, upon divers laws made by King Charles I. in 1633, which their Majesties call *a good work*, and ' are resolved to prosecute it, for the universal good of their subjects, and especially for the encouragement of the ministers of the gospel.' And thus having completed the new fabric both civil and ecclesiastical, which had been begun with the ruin of the old one last year, the Parliament rose on the

12d of July, and devolved the full power of execution on the privy council. LETTER
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The first public business now taken in hand was the Visitation of the Universities : For which necessary work, the Commissioners met, according to appointment, on the 23d of July, and subdivided themselves into four lesser Committees, one for each of the four Seminaries committed to their general inspection. The Visitation of St. Andrews was managed by the Earl of Crawford as President, who acted with remarkable harshness and severity, and was much blamed, even by his friends, for his rough, uncivil behaviour to the Masters ; particularly the Reverend Dean, old Dr. Weems, Principal of St. Leonard's College, who had been a Regent forty five years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy : Yet, my Lord would not allow him the favour of a seat ; and when the old man's infirmities obliged him to rest himself on the step of a stair, he sent an officer of court to raise him, and make him stand. So, under this imperious censor, the Masters of this University were all turned out, by the General Commission, on the 25th of September, and the place left without any face of education for a long time. At Edinburgh, the same austerity, both personal and official, went on, under the direction of the Provost, Sir John Hall, and of Mr Gilbert Rule, who had been designed a year before to fill the Principal's Chair, instead of Dr. Monro : And here all the Masters were deprived by one sentence, except a Mr Andrew Massie, who, to ingratiate himself with the prevailing powers, became an ' accuser of his brethren,' in the literal sense. The College of Glasgow fell into better hands, as Lord Carmichael, the President

LETTER of that Committee, tho' a staunch Presbyterian,
 LIV. was a man of temper and good breeding: Yet,
 even there, the complex Test would not go down
 with the Principal, Dr. Fall, and three of the
 Masters, who were therefore removed, for refus-
 ing it as their late act had enjoined it, and the
 President, with all his good nature, would not
 dispense with it. As to the University of Aber-
 deen, to whatever cause it was owing, the Com-
 missioners appointed for the inspection of it, seem
 not to have been so forward and peremptory as
 their brethren in the South: So that Northern
 Seminary was allowed for a while to continue in
 the hands of its former managers. But on the
 whole, there was desolation enough made of
 learning in so short a time; and the Visitors were
 neither dilatory nor sparing in executing their
 Commission to the full, tho' with different hu-
 mours, yet all with the same views, and to the same
 effect.

While this inquisition was purging and shutting
 up the Schools and Colleges, another body was
 as busy about the Kirks, and in preparing matters
 against the time appointed for the sitting down of
 the long wished-for Assembly. To this purpose,
 as soon as the Parliament was up, a Meeting of
 Ministers and Lay-Elders was held at Edinburgh,
 to concert the proper methods for calling and con-
 stituting a General Assembly, of which they had
 now been long out of the use. By the establishing
 act, none had right to meddle in the government
 and affairs of the Kirk, but such Ministers as had
 been removed at the restoration of Episcopacy;
 and the several claims to the privileges of this
 act, were like to raise a bustle among them in the
 very beginning: For the two factions in Crom-
 well's

time broke out now, with the same fire and
ever. The remnant of the old *Remonstran-*
ty; who had been actually deposed by their
dicatories, and some of them for gross and
lous irregularities, forced themselves into
meeting, and took seats accordingly. But
ore judicious of the other brethren, immedi-
saw the impropriety of admitting persons
nder a sentence of deposition by their own
and therefore moved, that this nullifying
at should be first taken off. Against this,
pled, that the sentence was void and null in
having been passed, *clave errante*, by a
is multitude of opposite principles. This
ced the *Public-Resolutioners*, who instantly
to defend themselves; and one of them,
Alexander Pitcairn, protested against these
dings, and threatened to print his protesta-
and declare the Meeting unlawful, if these
citated members were allowed to sit in it.
ese early heats appearing unseasonable, and
gerous tendency, he was prevailed upon to
ack his protest, and make no more noise.
then thought fit, for adding to their num-
o take into this Convention the younger
en, who had come in among them since the
ration, tho' they were not within the ex-
erms of the act, but only by permission of
d survivors.
tters being thus in so far adjusted, and a Mr
el Cunningham, chosen Moderator of this
al Meeting, as they called it; they then pro-
l to appoint Ministers for the several corners
country, divided them into presbyteries, pre-
l rules for trying Episcopal Ministers; and
ed, that where the Presbytery consisted but
of

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LETTER of three or fewer, the next one should be joined
 LIV. to it. Yet, in many places, even this made not
 a competent number, for such a weighty business
 as examining and censuring the doctrines and
 manners of Ministers: For in the two Presbyteries
 of Haddington and Dunbar, where there are near
 thirty parishes, there were but two Presbyterian
 Ministers; and the same number in Dunse and
 Chirnside, of the same extent. In the Presbytery
 of Auchterarder, there was but one; and when
 the next Presbytery was added to it, they made
 only three. At the same time, two of their Lay-
 elders declared, in the face of the meeting, that
 for twenty miles west of Perth, there were but two
 or three Presbyterian Ministers to be met with.
 So little agreeable then, even after the liberties
 allowed them by King James, had their persons
 and principles been to the generality of the people,
 and that too, in those very places where they
 might have been thought to have had the greatest
 sway. However, having now an Act of Parlia-
 ment on their side, they did the best they could,
 with the scanty numbers they had, and laid out
 the method and proportion of representation in
 the ensuing Assembly. They likewise appointed
 a general Fast to be kept, on Sunday the 5th of
 October; which was observed to have been the
 third fast that had been ordered on Sunday, with-
 in the compass of a year, inconsistent with the na-
 ture of the day, and contrary to primitive prac-
 tice. And to shew how ready they were, even
 in this embryo state, to be grasping at power
 which did not belong to them, they ordained an
 old treatise of Ruling Elders to be reprinted, ' by
 ' the Heirs of Andrew Anderson, and by none
 ' other.' But the Privy Council, indulgent as it
 was

as to them, interfered; and to give a check in me to such encroachments, ordered the copies to be called in, and the licence to be torn away.

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Soon after this, the Meeting broke up; and the brethren went home, and fell to work with all their might, according to the plan agreed on. It was thought, that they would have tried first to fill the Kirks made vacant by the rabble and the council, which were more than could have been supplied by all the Preachers of their persuasion. But they were not so zealous to plant as to pluck up: And tho' more than a third of the Kirks in the kingdom wanted Ministers, this was overlooked; and all their care was laid out in emptying those Kirks, where any of the Episcopal Ministers continued to officiate. And when the strangeness of this procedure made people ask them, Why they were at such pains to cast out the Episcopal Clergy, when they were not able to fill their places? Their common answer was, That there was less danger to the church and people by the want of preaching altogether, than by hearing it from men of Episcopal principles: Like to what Mr Fraser of Brae, one of their leading orators, had said in a sermon before the Parliament;—“Better the temple of the Lord ly sometime unbuilt and unrepaired, than be repaired by Gibeonites and Samaritans.”

Yet, unaccountable as this general conduct was, the particular management of their several Presbyteries, where they could hold any, was still more unreasonable and surprising. They sat every week, for the sake of dispatch, as they had but little time before the Assembly, and finished the processes that they called, in the utmost hurry, and with the most scandalous partiality. Every thing

LETTER thing, the most trivial, that malice could suggest,
 LIV. was admitted and magnified against the Episcopal
 ~~~~~ Clergy, and no defence they could make, was  
 allowed to operate in their favour.\* One common  
 topic of charge, was the using the Doxology,  
 and recommending to their people such superstitious  
 books as Dr. Scougal's Catechism, and "The whole  
 Duty of Man." But the general ground of accusation  
 against the Episcopal Clergy, and which the indictment  
 never omitted, was their having entered by presentation  
 from a Patron, and by Ordination, Collation, and  
 Institution from a Bishop; which, they boldly affirmed,  
 was 'contrary to the Word of God, to the Constitution  
 of this Kirk, to the Acts of Assemblies, and to the  
 land's solemn engagements.' And when the leaders  
 of the party were upbraided with making Episcopal  
 Ordination the ground of a libel, they excused  
 themselves, and laid the blame

\* Where any of them were found to have been particularly  
 keen in the Episcopal cause, consistently with their  
 character and profession, they were sure to meet  
 neither with mercy nor civility. The Minister of  
 Ladykirk was libelled, for having said, that the  
 Covenant was no better than a band of rebellion; and  
 Mr Heriot of Dalkeith, for calling Monmouth and  
 Argyle traitors. Mr Wood at Dunbar was cited  
 before them, for having said to one, who seemed  
 to be afraid of the English Liturgy's coming in  
 among us, 'God send us no worse;' and because  
 he had never expressed his thanks to God, for the  
 land's being delivered from Popery and Prelacy.  
 To the first he replied, he was sorry if such an  
 expression had dropped from him, being by far too  
 mean for such a great and glorious Church as  
 that of England: To the other he said, 'He  
 thanked God heartily for any deliverance the  
 land had had from Popery, but could not do so  
 for the overthrow of Prelacy, unless he acted the  
 hypocrite, or was convinced that Presbytery was  
 the greater blessing, and the more ancient  
 government of the two, which he had never yet  
 seen made out.'

upon

upon the people, who gave in the complaint; tho' it was well known, that the Ministers themselves were the original framers of the libels, and put them into the people's hands, to lay before the several Presbyteries.

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In the management too of the processes, their manner was neither legal nor equitable. The accusers were admitted as witnesses, and often sat as judges. The libel was read, the witnesses examined, and the charge found proven, before the pannel was called in; and all he had to do when he appeared, was to see and hear himself deprived. It is well known, that by the civil and canon law, and by the practice of all nations, they who bear personal hatred or malice, or have discovered any signs of prejudice against the accused, cannot lawfully witness in judgment upon him. Yet here, this laudable custom was over-ruled, and the most open and inveterate enemies not only allowed, but even encouraged, to give judicial evidence.\*

If one part of the deposition seemed to prove the libel, or any article of it, tho' another part tended to exculpate the Minister, or but to exenuate the fault, the first was carefully marked, and the other left out. When, at any time, the witnesses were like to clear the pannel, and testify

\* Thus when Mr. George Purvis at Glencorse appeared before the Presbytery of Dalkeith, he objected to some of the witnesses, as carrying heart-malice and ill-will towards him, and undertook to prove that these very men had assailed him in the pulpit with stones and staves, and taking him by the throat would have strangled him, if he had not got present relief: On which Mr Matthew Selkirk, one of the quorum upon the bench, rose and spoke to the moderator, that if these men had done so out of malice and personal prejudice, they ought not to be received as witnesses, 'but if they had done it for the glory of God, he saw no reason why they should not be admitted.'

LETTER his innocence, which frequently happened, they  
 I.IV. were dismissed, as knowing nothing of the matter,  
 ~~~~~ and others brought forward, that were more pliable to the service of the cause. And when the sentence of suspension or deposition against any minister was intimated from the pulpit of his kirk, the whole libel was gravely and formally read, altho' some articles were no way censurable; and such as seemed so, were not proved. Under these iniquitous proceedings, what could the Episcopal Clergy do? Some of them disowned the authority of these upstart Presbyteries, and would not appear; the consequence of which was, a summary sentence of deprivation. Some appeared, and gave in defences; but this availed nothing. And not a few appealed from these petty partial courts, to the ensuing General Assembly, hoping to meet with greater justice and moderation there; or that, before that time, the civil power, which had promised them protection, would interpose, and put a stop to the present rigid and oppressive measures.

At last, after two or three months preparatory bustle, in the way we have seen, the Assembly convened, on the day appointed, the 16th of October. Lord Carmichael was named Commissioner, to the grievous mortification of the fiercer sort, who wished their good friend Crawford to have been clothed with that important trust, and to the great disappointment of Crawford himself, who both expected and needed the profits of it, and in that expectation had not taken care to provide himself a regular seat in the Assembly, till some weeks after their sitting down, that, rather than want such powerful assistance, they got a commission extorted from the burgh of St. Andrews for him. Mr. Hugh Kennedy was chosen Moderator,

derator, and a Mr. John Spalding, Clerk. There were in the Assembly about a hundred and eighty persons of clergy and laity, according to their own distinction, but no representatives of either class from Angus, Merns, Aberdeen, or any of the more northern parts, nor from any of the Universities, but Mr. Rule alone, the new Principal, for Edinburgh: So that this meeting can no more be held to be a General Assembly of the church of Scotland, than the council of Trent can be called a General Council of the catholic church, tho' indeed the same spirit of faction and tyranny ruled in both: And it shows how little consistent the declaration in the claim of right about the inclinations of the people in favour of Presbytery was with fact, when upon trial, their first General Assembly, countenanced by all the encouragement they could desire, could not draw one member from more than one half of the kingdom.

The first thing done, after prayer and preaching, was reading King William's letter to them, in which, among other things of form, he told them, ' That he favoured their government, because he was made to understand it was agreeable to the inclinations of the people, and that he would have them to be very moderate in their proceedings, and not to do any thing that might displease their neighbour-church.' This last hint did not go well down; as it seemed to make them in some measure accountable to a church, which in all their discourses they used to exclaim against as superstitious and idolatrous, and into which they were always wishing to introduce their own mode of reformation. Neither was the first part quite acceptable, which supposed

LETTER their church-fabrick to be built upon such a sandy
 LIV. bottom, as the inclinations of the people. And
 therefore, in their answer, they asserted that their
 government was not only agreeable to the incli-
 nations of the people, but likewise founded in the
 word of God: And this they designed to back
 with the authority of an act, declaring, ' the
 ' Presbyterian government to be of divine right,
 ' and also the true legal government of this
 ' church, which had never suffered any alteration
 ' except in times of usurpation, tyranny and great
 ' oppression.' But the Commissioner apprehending
 the consequences of such an act, and knowing
 how contradictory it was to former histories and
 late experience, would not let it pass without ad-
 vice from court, where it did not meet with ap-
 probation, and so was no more heard of.

They then appointed committees for the vari-
 ous pieces of business that might come before
 them, which sat with their convenience, but did
 little or nothing considerable, owing partly to re-
 strictions from court, and partly to the unskilful-
 ness and forwardness of the many younger bre-
 thren who had never sat in any judicatory before.
 Besides, there were frequent differences among
 them about some one thing or other, which the
 moderator endeavoured to smother the best way
 he could, and then would thank God for the
 ' oneness,' as he phrased it, that was among them.
 This was a thing they always spoke of with great
 fondness, especially after the Cameronians joined
 them, tho' even then matters were only made up
 in a huddle between them; and if the moderator
 had not exerted all his dexterity, and a good deal
 of double-dealing, the breach had been wider than
 ever. The two who appeared for the Cameroni-
 ans

ins, a Mr. Shiels and a Mr. Linnen, gave in two **LETTER**
 papers, the one of overtures, and the other de- **LIV.**
 tending their own practices, as most consonant to
 the true Presbyterian doctrines, and upbraiding
 the other party with defection and apostacy, which
 they offered to make good in the face of the
 Assembly. The Moderator at first checked and
 rebuked them, as being rash young men: But
 finding they were not to be bullied into silence
 and submission, they were ordered out for a little,
 then called in again, taken by the hand, and de-
 sired to sit down with the rest, without entering
 on any debate, and with this flattering compli-
 ment from the chair, 'that he knew they meant
 well, that they had done services already, and
 more such was expected from them.' The Sun-
 day following, both the Cameronians about Edin-
 burgh and the Presbyterians in the town preached
 upon the union and agreement of the two parties:
 These last thanked God for it, and the former in
 their own justification declared, 'that thereby
 they neither condemned their own former con-
 duct, nor approved the corruptions that had
 been and still were among the other brethren,'
 which declaration, however just and galling, the
 Assembly was wise enough to take no notice of.
 Thus this threatening rupture between these two
 denominations of professed Presbyterians was art-
 fully pieced up at this time, and continued so for
 a while, not without private heart-burnings and
 murmurings now and then from the rigid side, till
 about forty seven years after, that, upon a new
 disgust about the revived exercise of patronage,
 and some other alledged corruptions in the public
 judicatories of the kirk, the flame broke out with
 great violence, and produced a formal '*Secession*,'
 which

established kirk, from which
ing off great numbers.

The next affair that came
was a petition from two
town of Dundee, craving
by the Assembly's authority
tho' the general meeting
them, he could neither go
to a kirk within the town.
tune came another supplica
lower class of people in A
in their present desolate sta
they had not had the gospe
for thirty years past. Bu
dresses, which by the bye
taste of both these places
the Assembly graciously r
they could to humour the
petitioners. But the granc
tion was to take cognizance
Episcopal clergy had made
byteries. This business, ho
of it, embarrassed them not
fear of offending the court

causes as they thought proper to take the cognizance of into their own hands, they summarily decided against the appellants.*

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* As a specimen of their justice in these decisions, I shall mention but two of them from among a number of the like kind, which were loudly cried out against at the time, and by which we may judge of the rest. The first shall be the case of Mr. John Mackenzie at Kirkliston, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, who had been canonically settled there, and continued to officiate till the wandering rabble shut the kirk-doors against him and kept him out. But having early complied with the new government, he made interest by his friends to maintain his title to the kirk, and when he saw that the Presbytery were against him, he appealed from them to the King, and the next lawfully called General Assembly. This being the tenor of his appeal, many of the Assembly spoke warmly against receiving it, alledging that it was not to them he had appealed, his expression not being applicable to this Assembly. The Commissioner, perceiving what prejudice there was against him, desired the Moderator to delay the affair, and give the young man time to appear and defend himself. But the Moderator answered, 'It was best to proceed now, and would be more for the young man's reputation; because if he were present, they would be obliged to take notice of some crimes and scandals, which now they would pass over without inquiring into them.' The Commissioner still urging that they should deal tenderly and gently with him, 'Indeed,' replied the Moderator, 'your Grace shall find that we will use great tenderness to the young man, and we shall be very discreet: For we shall only take his kirk from him.' Which without more ado they immediately did, and declared the kirk vacant. The other instance is of a still more flaming nature, and cannot be vindicated even by the utmost stretch of law. The kirk of Turriff in the diocese of Aberdeen had been for many years quietly possessed by the Episcopal minister Mr. Leask, but was now claimed by a Mr. Arthur Mitchel, in virtue of the late act of Parliament. Mr. Leask first applied to the privy-council, and then brought his plea before the Assembly, where he proved that Mr. Mitchell was never legally settled minister at Turriff: That in 1655 he was actually deposed, and tho' he continued to preach there, by means of a prevailing faction of *Remonstrators* under the usurpation, he was never acknowledged as minister of the place: That in the year 1660 the synod of Aberdeen being

And

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And thus having, as far as they could, abundantly purged out the old corruption, they thought it time to set a-going their legislative power, and enact proper regulations for settling the practice of their newly constituted Kirk. Among the first attempts of this kind, was the famous act, which they passed on the 31st of October, that 'As, by the authority of the church in her former assemblies, the private use of the two sacraments hath been condemned; and as, by allowing this private use in pretended cases of necessity, the superstitious opinion is nourished, that they are necessary to salvation, not only as commanded duties, but as means without which salvation cannot be obtained; therefore, the Assembly hereby discharges the administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses, and all other use of the same, except in the public assemblies of the church: And also, doth

freed from the force and restraint that had been put upon them, ratified and confirmed the former sentence of deposition against him, under which he was lying to this day: That himself had been regularly settled according to the laws of the land, had duly submitted to the present civil government, and had the heritors and people of the parish on his side, which Mitchel had not: That therefore the question was, Whether he was rightful and legal minister of Turriff, or not? After two days debate, it was put to the vote, and without any regard to Mr. Leask's defences and objections against his rival, the dispute was taken up on a different footing, and the question stated, not as it ought to have been, whether Leask or Mitchel should be minister of Turriff, but whether Mr. Mitchel was not rightful minister in 1661, and only turned out by the unjust courses of the times? This was, contrary to fact, and in contempt of their own judicatories, carried in the affirmative: And Mr. Leask being called in, was told, that the Assembly had deprived him, and declared Mr. Arthur Mitchel rightful minister of Turriff, which took place accordingly.

• discharge

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Discharge the administration of Baptism in private; that is, in any place, or at any time, when the congregation is not orderly called together, to wait upon the dispensing of the word: And appoints, that this be carefully observed, when and wherever the Lord giveth his people peace, liberty, and opportunity, for their public assemblies.' This affair raised some little stir among them. Mr Rule not only pled against private baptism as superstitious, but called it even sorcery and charming, and maintained it to be contrary to scripture and antiquity. Mr Kirkton took the Principal up briskly, and said, 'That point was disputable, and he could buckle him or any man upon it, but would not debate it now; and tho' there were a thousand acts against it, he would rather baptize a child in private, than suffer it to be carried to the curates.' The Moderator flew off to the trite distinction of the different states of the church, in excuse of their former practice; 'For,' said he, 'in times of persecution, I think an honest Minister, riding in the way, may go into a man's house, baptize a bairn, and come out and take his horse again, without any scruple.' Some highland ministers prayed not to be included in this act, because many children in their bounds could not be brought to the kirks; but there was no dispensing clause inserted.† Indeed, all of them were at pains, in their private conversations, to inculcate the non-necessity of baptism, and to preach down the esteem and regard which they saw people had


† So rigid were the greater part of them at that time, that a Mr John Hamilton, who was one of the few that did not refuse to administer baptism in private, was nicknamed John the Baptist, by the rest, by way of ridicule.

LETTER for it, as an idle relic of Popery, which ought to
 LIV. be abolished : Even Mr Kirkton himself, tho' he
 stood up so boldly against this prohibitory act of
 the Assembly, said once to the people who brought
 a child to him, ' You think it necessary to have
 ' your children baptized ; but I tell you, I knew
 ' a good, godly Minister, who lived till he was
 ' fourscore, and was never baptized in all his
 ' life.' How far the present race of Presbyterians,
 who have no scruple against baptizing a sick child,
 or indeed any child, sometimes in private, and yet
 continue so tenacious in refusing to administer the
 other sacrament to sick persons in their own
 houses, can reconcile this discrimination of prac-
 tice, either to itself, or to this express decree of
 their fundamental Assembly, is none of our con-
 cern to account for.

Another act, passed at this time, required all
 Schoolmasters, Chaplains, Preachers, and Stu-
 dents, to take and subscribe the Westminster Con-
 fession of Faith ; which had been, indeed, en-
 joined by some of their Covenanting Assemblies,
 but had never received any kind of authorised
 sanction till now. And because this Assembly
 could not sit so long as was necessary to determine
 all particulars, and complete the great work
 which they had begun, they appointed a Commit-
 tee to sit for a year, when and where they pleased,
 with full and supreme power to act in all things
 that related to the Kirk. This Committee was
 divided into two bodies ; one for the South, con-
 sisting of thirty Ministers and fifteen Lay-Elders ;
 and another for the North, of twenty-eight Mini-
 sters and sixteen Elders : The quorum of each to
 be ten Ministers and five Elders, duly instructed,
 and fortified, by their commission, to harass and
 bear

bear down the Episcopal Clergy from pretending to any share in the ecclesiastical government; or even, if possible, from keeping their livings in any shape. LETTER
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Before they rose, they had two very important matters under deliberation; one of a public, and another of a more private concern, but both of them touching their character and reputation in a high degree. When the rabbles were in their full strength, abusing and ejecting the regular clergy in the West and South, attested accounts of these barbarities were drawn up by undoubted hands, and corroborated by unquestionable testimonies, not only to be presented to those in power, for obtaining redress, but likewise to go abroad thro' both the kingdoms, for exciting pity and compassion towards the poor sufferers. The Presbyterians thought themselves struck at by these relations, and saw it necessary, for their own vindication, that some kind of answer should be made to them, as the facts were too flagrant and recent to be positively denied. At the last general meeting this resolution was formed, and the task laid upon Mr. George Meldrum, who, for reasons best known to himself, declined it. Then it was recommended to Mr Alexander Pitcairn: But he had too much honesty and good nature to undertake it, and plainly refused to have any thing to do with it. The Assembly therefore put it now upon Mr. Gilbert Rule, who courageously took the work in hand; and having laboured thro' it with bold denials, pitiful evasions, artful softnings, and all the sophistical fetches that a man is reduced to, who knows he is combating truth, was pleased in end gravely to wipe his mouth, and tell the world, ' That the truth of matters of fact

LETTER ' in this answer is not to be taken from him, but
 LIV. ' from his informers: That he pretends to personal knowledge of few of them: That therefore,  ' not his veracity, but theirs, stands pledged for ' the truth of what he has published; and if they ' have deceived him, or been deceived themselves, ' he is not to answer for it.'

Now, whatever exaggerations might have been in these original accounts, or solidity in Mr Rule's replies, the Assembly, if they would have acted honestly, might have kept themselves out of the scandalous scrape. It was the Cameronians who openly began, and chiefly carried on, the lawless business complained of; and though, ' the sober ' Presbyterians,' as their vindicator calls them, ' did not make it their constant theme to preach ' against these excesses,' and were not over-careful to prevent or stop them, this indifference might have passed as a piece of caution, and a prudent neutrality between two parties, with whom they once pretended to be equally unconnected. They had solemnly disclaimed kindred with the Cameronians, in their late address to King James, when they ' humbly besought his Majesty, that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, as we do disown them, may ' be looked upon as none of ours, whatsoever ' name they may assume to themselves.' This might have screened the disclaimers from any share in the Cameronian imputation, if they had not been willing to take a share in the effects of it. But here lies the whole key of this mystery, which opens up to us the propriety of Mr Rule's vindication. There was a merit now about these Cameronians to be claimed in general, as well as a former guilt, to be then disowned, but now forgotten.

gotten. They had suffered, been persecuted and **LETTER**
 butchered, no matter, as to the present considera- **LIV.**
 tion, whether justly or not, and all the cruelties
 of Charles II's reign, so much complained of by
 some to this day, belong to that tribe, to the
 Pentland-hills and Bothwel-bridge Covenanters;
 whom the other 'sober Presbyterians' made a
 boast then of standing aloof from. Let this sober
 party then, muster up all the articles of persecu-
 tion they met with, abstracted from these 'dis-
 'loyal and disowned' malignants, and tell us
 what the sum total of that separate account will
 amount to. But now, that the two parties are
 united, and joined in one communion, by the
 Assembly's taking the Cameronians into legal
 partnership with them on their own terms, it was
 proper there should be a communion of goods and
 privileges between them: And as the Assembly
 had already assumed to themselves the merit of
 the Cameronians sufferings, and were daily reap-
 ing the benefit of what the Moderator called their
 'services,' it was but fair, that, if there lay any
 complaint against these services, either in the mat-
 ter or manner of them, the Assembly should, as
 sharers and brethren, stand forth boldly and
 avowedly, now that times are changed, in vindi-
 cation of them. How consistently or successfully,
 let the christian casuist, who is taught not to ap-
 prove of bad means in prosecution of even the best
 ends, determine; and under this reference I leave
 it.

The other weighty affair, which the Assembly
 had to go through before they parted, was also of
 a very ticklish nature, no less than cleansing their
 Moderator from the foul stain of kirk-censure, and
 formal

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formal deposition;† which, in 1660, had been pronounced against him by a Presbyterian Synod upon sundry points of accusation, especially for being a firebrand among his brethren, and for a book which he wrote, ‘Of the Causes of God’s Wrath upon Scotland.’ This sentence had never been taken off from him, and many others in the same condition. It had been proposed at the General Meeting, and rejected. But now the Moderator finding himself better set, made an overture of it to the Assembly, on the 13th of November, the last day of their meeting; and to carry his point the more easily, brought it in by way of surprise. ‘Brethren,’ said he, ‘you may remember, there were once some unhappy differences among us, which some carried so high, as to proceed to inflict the sentence of deposition upon some on that account: Now, I think it fit, that before we part, this sentence be revoked; that as we are all one man’s bairns, we may be all alike stated.’ Mr Rule said, he judged it better to bury all these things in oblivion, as they could not pass a general act for reponing these men, without examining their processes, which was by no means fit, neither was there time for it; and perhaps they would not be found all alike; for some might have been deposed for scandals, and other crimes, as well as for these unhappy differences. ‘Brother,’ said the Moderator, ‘there is no need of condescending on particulars, for I believe they will be found all alike, and all very

† This famous Preacher was a ringleader among the *Remonstrators*, and had been with the army at Newcastle, when the King was delivered up to the English; at which time, it is said, Mr Kennedy, for his services on the occasion, got 6000 marks of the purchase-money.

‘honest

honest men that are concerned :’ So he named Weir, Mitchel, and some others ; and then said, There is a Mr Hugh Kennedy one of the number too, I warrant you all ken him well enough.’ In short, after this droll introduction, the act passed as desired ; the old sentence of deposition was taken off, and these men declared to be true, sound, and lawful Ministers. These two material points being thus settled, the Assembly began to think about separating, and entered on a debate about fixing the time of their next meeting, when the Commissioner, whose advice they were never asking, stood up, and, in King William’s name, dissolved this Assembly ; and, by the same authority, called and appointed another, to meet on the first of November next year. This was a stroke they were not looking for, but they did not chuse to call it in question : So they patiently submitted, and all was concluded with prayer and singing the 133d psalm. And here, before I take leave of this Assembly, which I have been the longer upon, not as belonging to, but because, as far as they could, destructive of the old Episcopal Constitution, let me express my surprise, that in all this time, and indeed in all the preparatory steps towards the Presbyterian settlement, we have heard no public mention of that former idol of veneration among them, *The Covenant* ; which their predecessors, about fifty years ago, had preferred to their creed, and even to their baptism. But now, except what private glances of remembrance some of their packed Presbyteries squinted towards it, when it was necessary to swell a libel against an Episcopal pannel, we meet with it in no petition of the Kirk, or deed of the State ; no handle made of it, as once, for abolishing Prelacy ;

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whole business it is , and, like honest men,
avow or renounce their connection with
League and Covenant of their godly ance

I am, &c.




L E T T E R L V.

*Effect of the Revolution on the Church of England
 —Declining State of King James's Interest
 —Proceedings of the Commission of the Scotch
 Kirk—Means used to keep out the complying
 Episcopal Clergy—Laws against the Nonjurors
 —Account of the ejected Bishops—Unpopular
 Measures of King William's Reign—He autho-
 rizes the Oath of Abjuration, and dies.*

HAVING, in the preceding letter, taken a sufficient view of the proceedings of the successful party, after the Revolution of 1688; before I return to the history of our ejected Bishops and clergy, it may be proper to give you some account of the situation of the church in the neighbouring kingdom, which we shall find affected, tho' not so totally, yet perhaps in as disagreeable a manner, as our own, by this strange and sudden revolution. It is not to be thought, that on such an extraordinary emergency, the English Bishops, in their mixed character of governours of the church, and members of the legislature, could

LETTER remain neuter, or be allowed to stand by, as un-

LV. concerned spectators of what was going on. We have seen what impression the King's orders for reading his indulgence made on them; and how seven of them were treated for their opposition to it. This ill-judged measure added fuel to the flame which the High-Commission's suspending the Bishop of London had already kindled.—When the Prince of Orange landed, this discontented Prelate soon declared for him, and being of a noble family, which gave him powerful connexions, by his example and influence drew numbers of all ranks along with him. On the King's first withdrawing and taking the great seal with him, in the beginning of December 1688, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the two Bishops of Ely and Peterborough, met with some of the Nobility at Guildhall, for preserving the public peace, and agreed upon an application to the Prince, then at Exeter, by way of declaration for a free Parliament, but without any offer of the supreme power, or the least invitation to the Prince to advance further, all which the King on his return to London acknowledged to be 'good and useful service.' But when within a day or two the King was finally driven away by the Dutch troops, and another set of Peers who had assembled at Westminster, desired the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of the Government, the Archbishop did not think proper to appear among them, tho' the King before his removal had sent his directions by two of the Bishops to the rest of their brethren, 'that such as served him well should not stand at a distance, but carry themselves decently to the Prince of Orange, that they might still be in a capacity

‘ to go on with business, and act as occasion should **LETTER**
 ‘ serve, and might do what was just and right in **LV.**
 ‘ the question about the Prince of Wales.’ 

In the convention of the 22d of January, where the grand point of disposing of the Crown was debated, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Peterborough, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Gloucester, Chester and Norwich, stood out against the proposal of transferring their allegiance, and giving away what they thought was not within their gift. The Bishops of Winchester and Durham, likewise shewed themselves not altogether satisfied with what was done, however proper they might think it to acquiesce in the determination of the majority. Others of them pretended the permission which they said, King James had given them before his going away, to act as occasion offered, and not incapacitate themselves by a vain opposition from consulting the publick good. Soon after the Prince and Princess of Orange were by this convention declared King and Queen, Archbishop Sancroft, not caring to act publicly himself, was advised to grant a commission, revocable at pleasure, to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Landaff and S. Asaph, for consecrating Bishops and ordaining ministers to any diocess or church within the province of Canterbury, who should be thereunto duly and legally nominated and elected, and by his Archbishopial authority confirmed: By virtue of which commission our countryman Dr. Burnet was consecrated Bishop of Sarum on the 31st of March 1689, as a reward for the services he had done, in bringing about this change. In October thereafter, the Archbishop and his outstanding brethren were suspended *ab officio* for refusing the new

LETTER Oaths: And persevering in their resolution, after
LV. many plans and proposals of accommodation, they
 were at last on the 1st of February 1691 totally
 deprived, viz. Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, and the Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough: For the other three, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester had died the year before. Upon this sentence of deprivation, the See of Canterbury was filled on the 31st of May with Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, who soon after provided the other Sees of the deprived Bishops in like manner. And Archbishop Sancroft, being an old infirm man, and willing to retire from the world, devolved by a solemn deed his Archiepiscopal powers, which he believed no secular hand could take from him, on his deprived brother Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, who lived and acted in that capacity eighteen years. Thus a rupture, if we cannot call it a schism, was begun in the church of England, and two separate Communions set up, under Dr. Sancroft at the head of the one, and Dr. Tillotson of the other: Which may be said to have continued ever since, till within these few years, that the regular line of Episcopal succession from the deprived Bishops failed in the person of our countryman the late Bishop Gordon.

From this short account of their matters it will appear what ground I had for hinting, that the case of the Church of England at this period of confusion, was fully as disagreeable, if not more so, as our own. In Scotland the established Episcopacy was struck down at one blow, and its rival Presbytery set up in its room, without offering the
 members

members of the old constitution any conditions, **LETTER**
 r giving them time to deliberate what side of the **LV.**
 olitical controversy to espouse. So that the Scot-
 sh Bishops being all involved in one general cata-
 rophe, and not divided by any insnaring alterna-
 ves, had no difficulty to maintain the Episcopal
 ause, and to support the interest of the Church by
 urely Ecclesiastical argument, and upon her own
 iginal, and independent bottom. In England it
 as not so: The face of the old constitution was
 here preserved, and by the appointment of the
 ew legislature, Episcopacy was made to fight
 gainst itself. This was an intricate and unwel-
 come combat; and the Bishops, who had the in-
 ired side to defend, being reduced to the necessity
 f supporting one form of protestant Episcopacy
 gainst another, were many times obliged to fly
 off to foreign assistance, and to bring forward ar-
 guments which, however satisfactory they may be
 o private conscience, will be thought in a good
 easure extraneous to the main cause: while the
 Bishops in Scotland had nothing to do but combat
 heir adversaries with the weapons which every
 Episcopal Church had taken out of the store-house
 f pure and uncorrupted antiquity, before politi-
 al discussions had come to be blended with
 Church concerns. The truth of this observation
 will appear from all the controversial disputes of
 hose days, where it is easy to see that many of the
 weightiest objections against the English separation
 do not affect the Episcopacy of Scotland; while
 on the other hand, every defence that the ejected
 succession in England could make for themselves,
 is applicable to the Scottish cause with equal pro-
 priety and force.

While all these new regulations were carrying
 on

LETTER on by the successful party in both kingdoms, the
LV. interest of the expelled King was declining every
 day. In Scotland, the Viscount of Dundee, on being driven away from the Convention of the States, had retired to the North, and collecting a small body of Highlanders, made a push for his master's service, at Gillicranky in Athol, on the 16th of July 1689, where his troops indeed got the victory; but the death of Dundee himself, who was killed in the action, was an irretrievable loss to the cause he was engaged in, and disheartened the few friends of it from making any farther attempts of that kind. The Duke of Gordon too, seeing no hopes of relief, had, about the same time, surrendered the Castle of Edinburgh to the prevailing powers, and submitted to their discretion. King James himself, having seen his Queen and Son properly lodged at St. Germain in France, returned, in March 1689, with fifteen hundred French troops, and landed in Ireland, where he held Parliaments, coined money, and for some time exercised every act of royalty; till, after several skirmishes with various success on both sides, a decisive battle was fought between him and his son-in-law, on the banks of the Boyne, on the first of July 1690, where James was totally routed, and had great difficulty to escape to France from the pursuit of the victorious army. This blow dashed all further hopes, and rivetted the conqueror in the undisturbed possession of that sovereignty, of which he had hitherto kept but an uncertain hold. And thus, by the secret hand of an over-ruling Providence, which it does not become blind mortals to be too curious in inquiring into, were things directed towards this surprising Revolution; which, we are told from good authority, James himself,

to his dying day, considered ' as a divine act of
 ' judicature upon himself and family, for very
 ' wise and gracious ends, and executed in great
 ' mercy to him : ' With which pious reflection
 upon it, from the greatest and most injured suf-
 ferer under it, I shall have done with it at this
 time, and return to the affairs of the church.

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When the General Assembly rose, the com-
 mission which they had appointed fell to work with
 such of the Episcopal Ministers as had complied
 with the civil government, and been thereupon
 allowed to keep possession of their Kirks. The
 great object was, to keep such men out of their
 judicatories ; lest, by their difference of principles
 and plurality of voices, they should incumber their
 proceedings, and by degrees turn the channel of
 affairs another way. And it is incredible what
 severities and flagrant exertions, of both oppression
 and artifice were used, to prevent such a dangerous
 conjunction. Complaints of these unjustifiable
 measures were sent to Court, which produced an
 unpalatable letter from King William, directed
 ' To the Reverend, and our well-beloved, the
 ' Ministers and Elders, Commissioners of the Ge-
 ' neral Assembly of the Church of that our ancient
 ' kingdom of Scotland,' and dated at the Hague,
 February 13, 1691 ; in which, after finding fault
 with the vexations and hardships put upon the
 Episcopal Ministers, he tells them, ' It is our plea-
 ' sure, during our absence out of Britain, and till
 ' we give further directions, that you proceed to
 ' no more processes, or any other business, but
 ' dispose yourselves entirely to find out the best
 ' means for helping and reconciling differences ;
 ' and be ready to give impartial redress upon any
 ' complaints that shall be offered to you, against
 ' sentences

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‘ sentences already passed ; that we be not obliged
 ‘ to give ourselves any further trouble thereanent :
 ‘ By his Majesty’s command, James Dalrymple.’†

Yet, it does not appear that this letter had any great effect, or answered the end it was designed for. The Committees continued as rigid and severe as ever ; and, under pretext of negligence, insufficiency, or scandal, gave the complying clergy of the Episcopal persuasion all the disturbance they could. In many parts of the North,

† It was at this time, that King William and his Dutch friends joined with the Imperial, Spanish, and Italian plenipotentiaries in a Declaration, wherein ‘ They solemnly protest, before God, never to give peace to Lewis XIV. till he make reparation to the Holy See for what he has acted against it ; and till he annull and make void all his infamous proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent XI.’ We are told, Lewis had contended with this Pope about the right of disposing of vacant benefices, which he claimed as inherent in his crown, and Innocent peremptorily condemned by a Papal Brief in 1681. But the Parliament of Paris stood up for the King’s prerogative ; and in 1682 an assembly of the French clergy, consisting of six Archbishops, thirty two Bishops, and a number of Delegates, determined for the King, and boldly asserted their privileges against the Pope, by a formal decree in four famous articles, which have been called ‘ The Liberties of the Gallican Church.’ This contention between Lewis and the Pope, and Lewis’ attachment to King James, who seems to have been but a French Papist, has made it be believed, that the Pope was at the bottom of dethroning James, as the weaker of his two opponents ; and William’s so early declaring himself in support of the Pope’s pretensions, has perhaps given ground for a suspicion, that he had been pitched upon by the Court of Rome as the most proper instrument for that purpose. It certainly has a strange look, to see a Prince pretending to defend the Protestant cause in such a hostile manner, against the nearest relation he had upon earth, and at the same time leaguings thus with the most bigotted enemies of the Protestant name, in support of that Popish interest in France, which he had gone such violent lengths in professing to destroy in Britain.

however,

however, the attachment to Episcopacy was so strong, that little regard was paid to the Presbyterian courts; and the Ministers who kept their kirks, being protected by the gentry, and beloved by the people, seldom or never appeared before these new tribunals: And in some parishes, where the old patrons were the only or principal proprietors, and thereby had influence over the parishioners, the vacant kirks were filled with ministers who had received episcopal ordination, either from the Bishop of the diocese, if in the neighbourhood, or from any other who was most contiguous to them. These liberties were, no doubt, particularly galling to the leaders of the Establishment, not only as thwarting their designs, and preventing the full completion of their favourite model, but especially as they were such a glaring and actual contradiction to the fundamental declaration in the late Claim of Right, about 'the inclinations of the people.'

But what they could not altogether help, they took care to guard against the consequences of, by all the methods they could devise: For they had interest enough to get an act of Parliament passed, in June 1693, for settling the quiet and peace of the church, statuting and ordaining, among other things, 'That uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public ordinances within this church, be observed by all Ministers and Preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall hereafter be declared by authority of the same; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe, and actually do observe, the said uniformity: And withal declaring, that if any of the saids.

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I.V.

‘ Ministers, who have not been hitherto received into the government of the church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and apply in manner fore-
 ‘ said, they shall have their Majesties full protection ay and while they be so admitted: Providing al-
 ‘ ways, that this act, and the benefit thereof, shall no-ways be extended to such of the said
 ‘ Ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negli-
 ‘ gent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified within the space of thirty days
 ‘ after the said application.’ This, it was thought, would be a bar in so far to the promiscuous entry of malignants, which they so much dreaded, as it left the never-failing plea of scandal and insufficiency open to keep out, or thrust out, as they pleased.

But still there was a fear remaining, lest, after all, some of those hated and suspected compliers, against whom none of these exceptions could be verified, might, if not looked after, creep into their presbyteries and synods, and perhaps even into their general assemblies, which might prove if not hurtful, yet in some measure troublesome to their constitution. The Parliament therefore gratified them with another act in July 1695, declaring that all such as shall come in and duly qualify themselves as said is, and shall behave themselves worthily in doctrine, life and conversation, as becometh ministers of the gospel, shall have and enjoy his Majesty’s protection as to their respective kirks and stipends, they always containing themselves within the limits of their pastoral charge in their said parishes, without offering to exerce any power, either of licensing or ordaining ministers, or any part of government in General Assemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries,
 ‘ unless

' unless they be first duly *assumed* by a competent church judicatory : Providing nevertheless, that, as the said ministers who shall qualify themselves as said is, are left free to apply or not to the fore-
 ' said church-judicatories, so the said judicatories are hereby also declared free to assume, or not assume, the foresaid ministers tho' qualified, as they shall see cause.' By this unrestricted freedom their great point was fully gained, and sufficient provision made against an unwelcome intrusion into any of their stated and authorized courts, by putting it entirely in their own power to admit none, but those with whom they were thoroughly satisfied.

LETTER
 LV.

However, with all these arts, and after all the mighty boasts of their numbers, and of the general affection of the people toward them, it would seem they had still found it a difficult matter to get all their kirks filled, owing either to the paucity of their preachers, or to the inclinations of the people running still in the old channel : For we find an act of Parliament, in July 1695, narrating, ' That there are many churches vacant on the north-
 ' side of the water of Forth, which cannot be soon legally planted, nor in the mean time otherwise supplied than by the Presbyteries, in whose bounds they ly, employing preachers, who are not settled in churches, to preach in such vacant churches for some time ; therefore, and for the pious use of entertaining such preachers so employed, his Majesty, with advice and consent of Parliament, doth hereby destinate, appoint, and allow, out of the first end of the vacant stipend of the respective churches at which they shall preach, by invitation or appointment of the proper Presbyteries, to every one of the said preachers, Twenty Merks Scots for their preaching every Lord's day, forenoon and afternoon, in

LETTER ' the said vacant churches; and that, whether
 LV. ' the said preachers be employed to preach at one
 ~~~~~ ' church, or at several churches within the bounds.'  
 These itinerant preachers were, among the vulgar, called the '*Twenty Merk Men*,' and made a tolerable living by that random method of supplying vacancies, in which either their own insufficiency, or the disaffection of the parishioners, kept them from being formally settled. Neither was the number of these itinerants found sufficient to answer all exigencies of this kind: For, from another act at the same time, it appears, that even settled Ministers were obliged many times to be employed in that business, with the benefit of the former act extended to them, as well as to the itinerants, who were considerable sufferers by the extension.

In this fourth session too, for their further security, they got an act made against intruders into churches, statuting and ordaining, ' That who-  
 ' ever shall intrude into any church, or possess  
 ' manse or benefice, or exerce any part of the mi-  
 ' nisterial function within any parish, without an  
 ' orderly call from the heritors and eldership, and  
 ' legal admission from the Presbytery, shall, by  
 ' letters of horning and caption, in common form,  
 ' be removed from such intrusion, possession, and  
 ' ministration, and be declared incapable of en-  
 ' joying any kirk or benefice for seven years after  
 ' their removal.' Yet all these repeated stretches of legal precaution, could not entirely prevent the ecclesiastical disorders which were perpetually breaking out: For, whether owing to the incessant janglings between the two contending rivals, or to the tumultuous mode of elections, which was now substituted in place of the ancient method of patronage, the spirit of licentiousness and  
 opposition

opposition was become so common and prevalent upon these occasions, that in 1698, the Parliament saw it necessary to make a law, ' Strictly prohibiting and discharging, all persons whatsoever, to make any opposition, by rabbling, tumult, or any other manner of violence, to any Minister lawfully authorised and sent to preach at any vacant church within the kingdom, either for supplying the vacancy, or to be fixed Minister within the parish; and that under the penalty of 100l. Scots upon every heritor or liferenter, and 50 merks upon every unlanded person, for every fault; and that such delinquents as are not able to pay, shall be punished in their persons, as the Privy Council shall see fit: And further, statuting and ordaining, that where and whenever, after requisition made to the beadle, or havers of the keys of vacant churches, to deliver them up to the Presbyteries, or any having their orders, the same are refused and not given up, then the next magistrate, when required, shall repair to the said kirk, and there make open and patent the doors, and put new locks on them, and deliver the keys to the Presbytery, or their order, for their free use-making of the same: Certifying, every such magistrate who shall refuse, when called, that he shall be liable in a fine of 100l. Scots, by and attour the Presbytery's expences.' Such were the confusions consequent on this late erection of Presbytery, and so frequently was the parliament called on to interfere, with renewed injunctions and threatenings, before the establishment of it could be perfected to satisfaction. And, when we take a general view of these confusions, we cannot but be struck with the strange sight of a Protestant National

LETTER LV. tional Church, which, in strict propriety of speech, could neither be called Presbyterian nor Episcopal, but a heterogeneous compound of two jarring denominations, both of them publicly acknowledged to be ministers of the gospel, invested with the pastoral charge, and formally confirmed by the then legal authority, but neither of them in full terms of communion, nor agreeing in many material parts of worship with the other.

But there was another body, and these too the greatest and most considerable number of the old clergy, who took no share in the strugglings of that awkward conjunction, but continued to stand as much and as quietly as they could upon their own bottom, and to adhere to that ecclesiastical independence, which, under all their other losses, they had now regained. Most of the rabbled clergy, and all of them who had been afterwards deprived by the Privy Council, submitted so far to these hard sentences, as not to exercise their ministry in their own parish-kirks, but had ventured to officiate in the old way in some kirks in the neighbourhood. And for their taking this liberty they pled, that they were only prohibited the exercise of their ministry at such a particular place: That the Council, tho' it had ejected them from that place, had not taken away their spiritual power from them, so that it was still lawful for them, as well as a duty upon them, to preach the gospel where there was occasion: That they thought there was but too much occasion for their so doing, considering how many vacancies were made, and how few kirks planted, so very few indeed, that in some parts of the country there were five, six or seven kirks all empty together: That they did not meddle with political controversy, but preached the solid and substantial doctrines of Christi-

Christianity, and made it their business to persuade people to a sober, righteous, and godly life. That therefore they were doing nothing but what charity required them, and their calling entitled them to do. LETTER LV.

However all this plea, just and modest as it was, stood them in no stead. The Presbyterian party in the government were exceedingly irritated, and on the 22d of July 1690, got this inhibitory act passed in Parliament against them, ‘prohibiting and discharging all and every one of these deprived ministers to preach or exercise any part of the ministerial function, either in churches or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatever, until first they present themselves before the privy council, and there take, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and also engage themselves under their hands, to pray for K. William and Q. Mary, as King and Queen of this realm: certifying such ministers as shall do in the contrary, that they shall be proceeded against, as persons disaffected and enemies to their majesties government, with all rigour: and ordaining the Privy Council to proceed therein, or empower the sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to do the same in their respective bounds, as they shall see cause.’ Nor was this thought enough to curb these obstinate outlanders: For at the same time another act was made against the trite distinction of *de jure et de facto*, and appointing a new declaration, called the Assurance, to be taken by all in any public employment, and among the rest by the deprived Ministers, in these words, ‘I do, in the sincerity of my heart, assent, acknowledge, and declare that their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto*, and

LETTER ' and in the exercise of the government : And  
 LV. ' therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise  
 ~~~~~ ' and engage, that I will with heart and hand, life  
 ' and goods, maintain and defend their Majesties
 ' title and government against the late King James,
 ' his adherents, and all other enemies who either
 ' by open or secret attempts shall disturb or disquiet
 ' their Majesties in the exercise thereof.'

Now it was not to be thought that these Nonjurors, as we shall henceforth call them, who had hitherto refused the simple oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, would be very ready to digest this more complex addition, and swallow the larger dose, when they had boggled so long at the less. They chose therefore, under the first impression of this shock, to take the other side of the alternative, and for a while forbore the exercise of their ministry any where. But finding this not eligible, upon many accounts, they at last ventured to have divine worship in their own hired houses, by praying and singing psalms, and giving their own families a practical sermon, but left all their doors open, that whoever inclined might hear them and join with them. The consequence of which was, that a list of these intolerable offenders was given in to the Privy Council, and sentence passed against two of the hardiest and most conspicuous of the number, Dr. Richard Waddel, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Dr. John Nicholson, Parson of Errol, banishing them both from their respective dwellings.

Yet, all these severities did not fully answer the proposed end. The ejected clergy went on calmly and courageously in performing the sacred offices of religion, to the many of all ranks who still adhered to them, and desired these offices from their hands.

hands. For putting a stop, therefore, if possible, LETTER
 to such divisive courses, the Parliament, in July LV.
 1695, gave out the following act: ‘ Our Sove-
 ‘ reign Lord, considering, that the baptizing of
 ‘ children, and solemnizing of marriage, by the
 ‘ laws and customs of this kingdom, and by the
 ‘ constitution of this church, have always been
 ‘ done by ministers of the gospel authorised by
 ‘ law and the established church of this nation;
 ‘ and that, notwithstanding thereof, several mini-
 ‘ sters now out of their churches do presume to
 ‘ baptize children, and to solemnize marriage,
 ‘ without proclamation of banns or consent of pa-
 ‘ rents, and sometimes within the forbidden de-
 ‘ grees: Therefore, strictly prohibits and dis-
 ‘ charges any outed minister to baptize any chil-
 ‘ dren, or solemnize marriage betwixt any parties
 ‘ in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment;
 ‘ ay and while he find caution to go out of the
 ‘ kingdom, and never to return thereto: And
 ‘ remits the execution of this act to the ministers
 ‘ of the law, as accords.’

This was the heaviest blow which the Nonjurors had hitherto met with. The former laws against them had left them to an arbitrary punishment, which might be softened by the interposition of friends, or clemency of the judge: But here the punishment, and a grievous one too, is determined, and no mitigation to be expected. It was likewise thought particularly cruel, whatever interference might have been used about the solemnizing of marriage, that any legal bar should be put to the administration of a sacrament, which indeed the now established church laid no great stress upon, but which the bulk of the people still retained a value for, and wished to have perform-

LETTER ed by proper administrators. However, these out-
 LV. ed ministers, as they are called, tho' thus restrain-
 ed, and even much terrified, were not altogether
 silenced ; but still continued their ministerial func-
 tions when and where called, in the safest and
 most prudent manner they could, so as neither to
 lose sight of their sacred character on the one hand,
 nor wantonly to provoke their implacable enemies
 on the other, but in patience possessing their souls,
 and depending entirely on their great Head, in
 whose cause they were both serving and suffering.

In this patient and peaceable course, besides the
 example of the primitive Presbyters, which they
 justly looked upon as a pattern worthy of imita-
 tion, they were warranted by the countenance and
 authority of their own Bishops, who were now
 their fellow sufferers, and who, after being stripped
 of their temporal honours, and disseized of their
 once legal revenues, were no longer distinguished
 by any particular notice, but were struck at in gen-
 eral, under the degrading comprehension of ' outed
 ' ministers.' These deprived Fathers, for Fathers
 they once were, and were so called, still retained
 their spiritual power and superiority inherent in
 their commission; and under all their depression, had
 the happiness to possess the respect and esteem, not
 only of their ejected sons, but likewise of most of
 the compliers, and even of many of the great
 ones among the laity, who had been active in
 the late change. They had quietly retired from
 their Episcopal houses, on the first promulgation
 of the dispossessing act, and provided themselves in
 lodgings where they best could : Such of them as
 had any little paternal inheritance of their own,
 withdrew to it : Others took shelter with their
 friends and relations, or were sustained by their
 ministerial

ministerial labours in particular congregations which adhered to them.*

LETTER
LV.

He who made the greatest figure, and had the largest and longest share in the management of ecclesiastical business, was Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh, who survived all his deprived brethren, and of whom we shall soon hear more; as we are now come to a particularly remarkable æra of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which we must henceforth survey as resting on the old in-

* The Primate Rose, being an old man, lived very privately, and died in 1704. The other Archbishop, Paterson, of Glasgow, was of a more active turn, and appeared frequently upon the public stage in matters that concerned the church: He seems to have had a good deal of influence, even with some who were at the helm of affairs, and died at Edinburgh in 1708. Bishop Halyburton of Aberdeen lived in his own house of Denhead in the parish of Cupar of Angus 26 years, and died in 1715. Bishop Hay of Moray died at his son-in-law's house of Castlehill near Inverness in 1707. Bishop Drummond of Brechin, being a near relation of the family of Perth, was entertained by the Earl of Errol who had married the Chancellor's sister, and died at Slains in 1695. Bishop Douglas of Dunblain, a second cousin to the Marquis of Douglas and to Duke Hamilton, lived after his deprivation mostly at Dundee, and died in 1716, at the uncommon age of 92, having been 66 years in the ministry. Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld officiated as a clergyman in Edinburgh some years, as did also Bishop Ramsay of Rose, who died in 1696, in very low circumstances. Bishop Wood of Caithness, a nephew by his mother to honest Bishop Guthrie of Moray, died at Dunbar in 1695. Bishop Bruce of Orkney, died in 1700. Bishop John Gordon of Galloway followed King James first to Ireland, and then to France, and residing with the court at St. Germain's, read the English liturgy to such protestants as resorted unto him, in which station, it would appear, he had died; for we hear no more of him. Bishop Graham of the Isles lived many years about Edinburgh, but when he died we are not told. The see of Argyle was vacant, the Revolution having prevented the execution of the conge d'elire, which the learned Dr. Monro, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, had got to it in October before.

LETTER
I.V.

stituted foundation, and in which we shall see our Bishops, tho' detached from the ties of secular connexion, with which every established form of a church has always been more or less fettered, yet entangled between the indispensable obligations of high trust on the one hand, and the necessary maxims of Christian prudence on the other, and often at a loss how to act consistently with both.

They were not indeed, as I have already observed, entirely in the same intricate situation with their deprived brethren in England; and yet their circumstances, all things considered, were sufficiently embarrassing. Many of the great men, who wished well to Episcopacy, had been surprised, and even offended, at their standing out against the change in the state, and had used pressing arguments with them, as Duke Hamilton in particular had early done with the Primate and Bishop Rose, to persuade them, for their own sakes, and for the preservation of the church, into a compliance. On the other side, their avowed adversaries, the Presbyterians, exclaimed every where against their stiffness, and cunningly represented their non-compliance as proceeding from nothing but personal disaffection, and a latent inclination to Popery: And some went even so far, as to make a handle of their silence and meek deportment under their sufferings, to upbraid them with cowardice and inconsistency, in not thundering out boldly and intrepidly against the convulsions and usurpations which they complained of in secret. Under these complicated attacks from without, and various struggles, no doubt, from within, they will appear, it is hoped, to the eye of christian charity, and unprejudiced candour, to have been objects rather of compassion than of censure. The change,
by

by which they were suffering, was unprecedented LETTER
LV.
 in the Scottish annals, which had never recorded
 a King expelled by a daughter and her husband.
 The late instance of the first Charles, which they
 had all seen, was not similar to this in every parti-
 cular: It had been opposed, at least in appearance,
 by the Parliament of Scotland, and matters then
 had in a few years returned to the old form. Such
 of their clergy too, as had yielded to the present
 requisitions, were but roughly handled, and had
 not met with such fair or favourable usage, as
 might encourage others to lay aside their scruples,
 and comply.

Indeed, the very beginning of this Revolution
 could not but alarm our Bishops with a dishearten-
 ing prospect: A foreign Prince coming over upon
 Presbyterian invitation, and accepting the Crown
 in terms of the *Claim of Right*, which had declar-
 ed Prelacy a grievance, was not the man from
 whom much good-will to Episcopacy was to be
 expected: And the event justified their apprehen-
 sions. In a short time too, the new administration
 began not to be so generally acceptable as the friends
 of it had hoped, and William neither gave nor got
 the satisfaction which had been mutually looked
 for. The horrid tragedy of Glenco, on the 12th
 of February 1693, which in the manner of exe-
 cution, and allowing for the proportion of num-
 bers, was as much a massacre by Protestants as
 had ever been acted in France or Ireland by Pa-
 pists; and which the inefficacy of the Parliamentary
 inquiry into it, two years after, had raised a suspi-
 cion of its having originated from a source which
 was not proper to be laid open, spread an univer-
 sal and well-founded disgust thro' the whole king-
 dom: And this disgust was heightened by the
 affair

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LV.

affair of the Scotch Colony, set up in 1699 on the royal faith, at Darien in America, where it was visible the Scots were most treacherously baffled, to the utter ruin of many individuals, and to the risk of exasperating the two Parliaments against one another. No wonder that a reign, begun in such a strange way, and chequered with such disagreeable measures, had not the effect of removing scruples out of some people's minds, and giving them that conviction and clearness upon trial, which so many had attained to, at the commencement of it.

But this scene of murmuring and discontent did not long continue. For on the 8th of March 1702, King William died, in the 52d year of his age; after having in his last moments, and when he was so weak that he could not write, stamped his name on a commission for passing an act, which was afterwards extended to Scotland, enjoining the taking the 'Oath of Abjuration,' in these words: 'I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James; and, since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the stile and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the stile and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the Crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging: And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him, &c.' An oath of such a dubious contexture, and so hard to be digested in all its parts, that even the Presbyterians boggled at it; and fourteen years after this, the Commission

mission of the Kirk drew up an address, praying to have ' the Oath of Abjuration so qualified, that tender consciences might take it, some of their very Ministers having refused it.' LETTER LVI.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R LVI.

Accession of Q. Ann—Supposed to be favourable to the Scots Episcopalians—She is addressed by some of the Clergy—Consecrations performed by the ejected Bishops—The English Liturgy introduced into Scotland—Act of Toleration, and Consequences of it—Sudden Death of Q. Ann.

ON the death of K. William, the Princess Ann, youngest daughter of the late K. James by his first wife, was proclaimed in both kingdoms : And this accession was supposed to open a more favourable prospect to the ejected and oppressed clergy in Scotland. High notions had been conceived of her shining virtues in private life, especially

A. D.
1702.

LETTER cially of her distinguished attachment to the
 LVI. Church of England, and indeed to Episcopacy in
 general. Many too, who had thought themselves
 bound to K. James while he lived began now on
 his death, which had happened on the 6th of
 September last year, to recede a little from their
 former attachment, and to consider their allegiance
 as easily transferred from one branch to another
 of the royal family. In this opinion they believed
 themselves supported by the conduct of the primi-
 tive church under the Roman Empire, where they
 found obedience paid by the Christians to the Em-
 peror while alive, and to any one of his family that
 got hold of the sceptre after his death, without con-
 vassing the right of succession, about which at that
 time there was no dispute.

These flattering appearances and plausible ar-
 guings induced some of the Episcopal clergy to ad-
 dress the new Queen, hoping to meet with more
 lenity from one of her disposition and principles,
 than they had experienced from her predecessor.
 But the greatest number of them, with all the sur-
 viving Bishops, still laboured under their old diffi-
 culties on this intricate subject; and while they
 gave all due praise to the Queen's personal cha-
 racter, could not bring themselves to a sufficient
 degree of conviction about her public capacity,
 notwithstanding of the comparison drawn from the
 Roman government, where, they said, the consti-
 tution was different, and where such thorny con-
 cessions were not required. However, an address
 was framed, and presented in March 1703, shew-
 ing, ' That the petitioners had been violently and
 ' unjustly turned out of their benefices at the Re-
 ' volution, and intreating her Majesty to com-
 ' passionate them and their numerous families,
 ' who

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who were reduced to a starving condition, for their adhering to the true, primitive, and apostolic church, of which her Majesty was a member.' To which address answer was given, Assuring them of her protection, and exhorting them to live peaceably with the Presbyterian clergy.' Tho' this came not up to all that was expected, and tho' the Parliament soon after rejected the Bill of Toleration which had been proposed to them, owing to the violent clamourings of the Presbyterians against it; yet the answer itself, being of a softer nature than any speech which the Episcopal clergy had for some time been accustomed to hear from the throne, encouraged the whole of them to form higher hopes, and to concert such probable schemes for enlarging their substance, as they thought might now be carried on with safety, under such a mild administration. They had been hitherto assisted in a private way, by charitable donations from some few benefactors in England and Ireland, and a fund had been settled for that purpose at Edinburgh, under the principal direction of the two Archbishops, and of the Bishops of Edinburgh and the Isles, who resided mostly in or about the metropolis. A Commission, therefore, was now renewed from these Prelates, as managers of this fund, to Mr Arthur Millar, who had been Minister at Inveresk, but ejected at the Revolution, empowering him 'to collect money among the well-disposed in Ireland, for the relief of the suffering clergy in Scotland.'

In execution of this Commission, Mr Millar went over again to Ireland; and in December this year obtained a brief from the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, which was of great use to him. He was likewise much assisted in this pious

A. D.
1703.

LETTER work, by the then Archbishop of Dublin, Dr.
 LVI. King;† and in the course of a few years, he collected in Ireland upwards of nine hundred pounds sterl. which, with other liberalities from time to time at home and from England, was of great service to both Bishops and Clergy in their then trying situation. The Bishop of Edinburgh too, whose amiable qualities endeared him to all ranks, but whose worldly circumstances were not so affluent as his merit deserved, or his character required, was at this time, by the interest of powerful friends, favoured with a pension out of the Bishop's rents, and had it paid him, tho' not very punctually, for some years, till on a new accession it was taken from him, in 1716, for his continued refusal of the state-oaths.

And now the surviving Bishops, taking hold of the favourable opportunity in the beginning of this reign, and seriously pondering the weak condition which the church was now in, by the death of so many of their order, and the decaying state of the few who yet remained, came to an unanimous resolution of continuing the Apostolic Succession, and committing the sacred Deposit which they were entrusted with, to 'other good and faithful men, apt to teach and govern;' who might, in like manner, convey it forward, and thereby preserve the Church of Scotland from the necessity, which she had been reduced to within their own memory, of applying to foreign assistance for a regular and valid Episcopacy. In consequence of this resolu-

† This Prelate is well known in the learned world, by his curious book 'Of the Origin of Evil;' and there are letters preserved from him to Mr Millar, expressing the most cordial good will to himself and his cause, and signed, 'Your affectionate humble servant and brother, Will. Dublin.'

tion, Mr John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, (a man deservedly esteemed for his many valuable writings; but whom, to the great loss of this church, death took away within six years, in the 59th year of his age) and Mr John Fullarton, who had been Minister at Paisley, were the first pitched upon for this high office; and accordingly, on the 25th of January 1705, they were duly and canonically consecrated, at Edinburgh, by Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, and Bishop Douglas of Dunblain. LETTER LVI.

At the same time, for preventing any confusions that might possibly arise from future contingencies, and for other prudential reasons, it was provided on the one side, and agreed to by the other, that during the life of any of the old Bishops, the government of the church should remain entirely in their hands; and that in all that time, none of the new consecration should be vested with Diocesan powers, or have the inspection of any particular district, but that they were designed only to assist in keeping up the order, and to give their counsel and concurrence when called for. Thus a plan of Episcopacy was introduced into this church, which, it must be owned, was not altogether so conformable to primitive practice as could have been wished, but which the sagacity of these prudent and experienced governors saw expedient for these times, tho' it cannot be thought they proposed it to be perpetual, as was afterwards pretended, or to take place any longer than it should appear proper and necessary to return to the old model. However, these worthy Prelates rested satisfied with this method of performing what they were convinced was their duty; and having made this

LXVI. **LETTER** salutary step towards the preservation of the church, as far as lay to their hands, they could now, with faith and resignation, wait the good providence of their gracious Master, to dispose matters as to his infinite wisdom should seem best.

But this calm glimpse of sunshine, which was just breaking in upon our distressed church, was soon overcast with a transient cloud, and that too upon an occasion in which, as she now stood, she could not be much interested. The project of an incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, which had been oft started by the English, and as oft rejected by the Scots, was now again revived; and being, from whatever views, a favourite point with England, was pushed with great ardour from that side: And to make sure of the Parliament of Scotland, where the Presbyterians had so much to say, the Court found it expedient to lay the rod a little more smartly upon the Episcopal clergy, as being thought the most effectual way to remove the jealousy of the Presbyterians, and reconcile them to the intended scheme. Accordingly, orders were issued to shut up all the Episcopal Meeting-houses without distinction; and these orders were executed with more or less rigour, according as the opposite humour prevailed, or the several turns of politics required. Mean time the Union-project went briskly on; and notwithstanding tumults in many towns, and addresses from several counties against it, on the 16th of January 1707 it was finally ratified in the Parliament of Scotland. On the sixth of March it passed in the English Parliament, at which time, we are told, one of the English peers, Lord North-and-Grey, offered a rider to the bill, "That nothing in it" may be construed an approbation or acknowledgement.

‘ ledgement of the truth of the Presbyterian way **LETTER**
 ‘ of worship, or allowing the religion of the Kirk. **LVI.**
 ‘ of Scotland to be, what it is styled, The True **W**
 ‘ Protestant Religion.” But the motion was re-
 sected, as unseasonable and superfluous.

Scarce had this threatening storm begun to sub-
 side a little, when a new opportunity offered to
 raise another. An invasion from France was at-
 tempted, and a fleet sent out of Dunkirk under
 Admiral Fourbin, which hovered a while upon
 our coasts, but was on the 13th of March 1708
 dispersed and driven off by the English navy, with-
 out any resistance, and with no great loss. This
 alarm, sudden and short as it was, created trouble
 to such of the nobility as had appeared most averse
 to the Union, who were taken up on suspicion, but
 in a short time had their innocence cleared, and
 were dismissed. But the Nonjuring clergy were
 the chief sufferers by it, as it was alledged to be a
 plot of them and their party to bring over the son
 of the late King James, who was now styled the
 Pretender, to whose interest they were believed
 to be devoted, because they had hitherto refused
 the oaths to his sister. Yet under all this load of
 popular clamour and legal severity, there was still
 the face of a church kept up, and amidst the many
 restraints and distresses which they struggled with,
 the clergy were so diligent, and by their diligence
 so successful in their labours, that in many places
 they got their people prevailed with to admit the
 exercise of liturgical worship in their religious
 assemblies, as more decent, more intelligible, and
 better calculated for public devotion, than the
 Presbyterian method, which they had been accu-
 stomed to hear, but could not be said to join in.

The use of the English Book began now to
 spread thro’ various corners of the kingdom: It
 had

LETTER had been approved of by many of the clergy long ago, and some of them had even used it openly in the kirks. For we are told in 'the Life of Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum,' that soon after the Restoration he read the English liturgy in the parish-kirk of Salton, which was his first cure: And in Dumfries too we have this notable testimony of its being used, that the Cameronian plunderers broke into the church there, while the minister was reading it, tore it out of his hands, and made a public bonfire of it, which was the common mark of disgrace they put upon all the prayer-books which they found among the ministers, in these heathenish excursions. After the Revolution, when so many of the clergy and most of the Bishops took shelter about Edinburgh, and found themselves more at freedom to model the public worship after the commendable pattern of Catholic Antiquity, the English service became more frequent in and about Edinburgh, tho' for some years in the remote parts of the country, the old ministers mostly kept to their former way, either from choice or necessity. But in the beginning of this reign, which appeared more favourable to Episcopacy and a Liturgy, by the liberality of well-disposed people in England, a large supply of Prayer Books was sent down to Scotland; and by this means, under the particular recommendation, and by the careful provision of the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was the chief mover in our ecclesiastical affairs, the English service was, in 1707, set up in St. Andrews, in Aberdeen, and at many places in Angus and Moray, in both which shires the old constitution still had a number of friends. This was not only a great improvement in itself, but likewise a wonderful change from

from the cross humours of former times : And is LETTER
 a clear demonstration, how much more easily and LVL.
 peaceably people will be reconciled to decency of ~
 practice, in religious concerns, by the winning
 arguments of persuasive instruction, than by the
 peremptory compulsion of authority, however re-
 gular and competent.

The Bishops too, now that the cloud was in
 some measure over for a while, continued their
 watchful care of the succession ; and finding their
 number more and more on the decrease, by death
 and decay of nature, they thought proper to add
 new strength to their order, in terms of the late
 regulation, by the promotion of other two worthy
 old ministers, Mr John Falconar at Carnbee in
 Fife, and Mr Henry Christie at Kinross, who were
 consecrated at Dundee on the 28th of April 1709,
 by the two old Bishops of Edinburgh and Dun-
 blain, and the new Bishop Sage ; the only other
 survivor, Haliburton of Aberdeen, being now so
 weak in his intellectuals, beyond what his more
 aged brother of Dunblain was, that tho' he was
 still capable to perform the office of Ordination
 for such vacancies in his diocese as applied to him,
 it was not judged convenient, as it was not ne-
 cessary, to employ him in any business of import-
 ance that required a certain degree of secrecy and
 caution.* After these two, Mr Archibald Camp-

* The first of these two new Bishops, Mr Falconar, was an
 intimate acquaintance and great favourite of good Bishop Rose,
 who pressed him most warmly, for the good of the church, to
 take the burden of the Episcopate upon him in these times of
 trial and difficulty. And indeed, no man could have been
 fitter for it in any condition of the church, as from the many
 letters that remain of him, he appears to have been not only a
 man of great piety and prudence, but likewise a consummate
 divine, and deeply versed in the doctrines and rites of the primi-
bell

LETTER bell was next advanced to the Episcopate in our
 LVI. Scottish church, and was consecrated at Dundee,
 on the 25th of August 1711, by the Bishops of
 Edinburgh and Dunblain, and Bishop Falconar.†
 The next year after his promotion, Mr James
 Gadderar, who had been rabbled out of his mini-
 stry at Kilmaurs in the shire of Ayr, (and of whom
 I need say nothing, as he has left such a precious
 memory behind him in our church, especially in
 the Diocese of Aberdeen, of which he long had
 the inspection), was consecrated on the 24th of
 February, at London, by Bishop Hickee, (the

tive church, which, both by example and argument, he studied
 to revive and bring again into practice, in the softest and most
 inoffensive manner possible.

† This gentleman was a near descendant of the family of
 Argyle, and tho' long in priest's orders, had never had a fixed
 charge, but was highly recommendable for his learning and other
 valuable accomplishments, which his curious writings, tho' out
 of the common line in some things, abundantly testify. His af-
 fairs led him to reside mostly at London, where he long acted
 as a Scotch Bishop, and in that character was of great service
 to our church, having been among the first projectors, and by
 his activity and connexions a constant promoter of that charitable
 fund, which was a great support to the poorer clergy in their
 straitened circumstances. He had got into his hands the origi-
 nal registers of the General Assemblies produced by Wariston in
 the rebellious Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, which he gene-
 rously communicated to such of his brethren as had any use to
 make of them, and at last in 1737, made a gift of them to Sion
 college for preservation. In his later days he carried his singu-
 larities to such a length, as to form a separate Nonjuring com-
 munion in England, distinct from the Sancroftian line, and
 even ventured, in contradiction to the opinion and advice of his
 brethren in Scotland, upon the extraordinary step of a single con-
 secration by himself without any assistant, for keeping up the
 separation, which, thro' Mr Laurence, Mr Deacon and some
 others, subsists in some of the Western parts of England to this
 day.

well

well known Dean of Worcester, and soon after the Revolution, made a Bishop in the deprived succession) and the two Scottish Bishops Falconar and Campbell.†

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By these consecrations our church was once more supplied with a sufficient number of Bishops, both to preserve the succession, and perform other episcopal offices to those of her communion. And about this time, the British Parliament manifested something of a favourable disposition towards those of the episcopal persuasion in Scotland. For on the third of March 1712, an act was passed, to "prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal communion, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the Church of England, and for repealing the act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled, act against irregular baptisms and marriages;" declaring it to be free and lawful for all of the Episcopal communion in Scotland to meet and assemble for divine worship in any town or place except in parish churches, to be performed after their own manner by Pastors ordained by a Protestant Bishop, and to use the liturgy of the church

† It needs be no surprise, to find a consecration for Scotland performed at London, and in a part, by English hands. Mr Campbell had his ordinary residence in London, where Mr Gadderar also lived for some years: And Bishop Falconar's being at London may well enough be accounted for from the exigencies of the church, which not only called for a brotherly correspondence, but even many times required personal interviews, and led up of our Bishops and clergy now and then to London to assist in the common cause. However, this consecration of Bishop Gadderar, tho' seemingly out of the usual course, yet having been not only with Bishop Rose's consent, but likewise at his express desire, was approved of by all his Scottish brethren.

LETTER of England, if they think fit, and that it shall be

LVI. free and lawful for such Episcopal ministers, not
 only to pray and preach in their congregations,
 but likewise to administer the sacraments and
 marry, without incurring any pains or penalties
 whatsoever, any law or statute to the contrary
 notwithstanding: And strictly enjoining all sher-
 riffs and other magistrates, to give all manner of
 protection, aid, and assistance to such Episcopal
 ministers and their congregations, and not to
 hinder or disturb them, under the penalty of 100l.
 sterling *toties quoties*: But requiring every such
 Episcopal minister, before he shall enjoy the be-
 nefit of this act, to produce his letters of orders
 before the justices of the peace, at their general or
 quarter sessions, to be entered on record by the
 clerk, and to take and subscribe the oaths of Al-
 legiance, Assurance, and Abjuration; and that,
 every time that he officiates in his place of worship
 so protected, he shall pray in express words for
 her most sacred Majesty Queen Anne, and the
 most excellent Princess Sophia, Dutchess Dowager
 of Hanover, and all the royal family, under the
 penalty of 20l. sterling for the first offence; and
 for the second, of forfeiting the benefit of this act,
 and being declared incapable of officiating as
 pastor of any Episcopal congregation during the
 space of three years: "Provided always, that no
 "minister offending herein shall suffer such penal-
 "ties, or either of them, unless he be prosecuted
 "for the same within two months after the
 "offence is committed."

This is the substance of that famous Act of To-
 leration of the 10th of Queen Anne, which was
 more than had been granted for twenty years, and
 for that reason was by some vehemently cried out
 against.

against. It is true, the Nonjurors, who were by far the greatest body of the Episcopal communion, and had all the Bishops both old and new at their head, had not, and could not in law claim, the full benefit of it. But yet, as it discovered the favourable inclinations of government towards the Scottish Episcopacy in general, the Presbyterians were thereby kept back from harassing the Nonjurors too much, lest they should be driven to take the advantage of this toleration, and so put it out of the power of their enemies to hurt them. Another act too that passed in this session, and has continued in force ever since, was particularly grating to the Presbyterians at that time, and to many of them is so still, and that was the act rescinding the act of 1690 against Patronages, and "Restoring the Patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the churches vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." Besides the matter of this act, the very title of it could not but be highly offensive, as it asserts the claims of the patrons to be both rightful and ancient, which the zealots of the Kirk still continue to brand as a sacrilegious usurpation of a modern date. At the same time, another act of King William, which has a strong taste of the fanatical leaven in it, "discharging the Yule vacance, notwithstanding of any bygone custom of observing it," was repealed, and the ancient practice, which had prevailed in all ages, and among all nations where christianity was duly regarded, was again set upon the old footing.

These proceedings, tho' not quite pleasing to some at the helm of affairs, were perfectly agreeable to the Queen herself, who had a sincere respect for Episcopacy, and for every thing that was

LETTER- orderly and decent in the externals of religion:
 LVI. And under covert of the late toleration, even the
 ~~~~~ Clergy of the Nonjuring Church began to enjoy a  
 little freedom, and to entertain hopes of more extensive indulgence than they had experienced for some years. The repeal of the rigorous act against their baptisms was a great relief to their minds, as it freed them from the daily risk of imprisonment or banishment, in the execution of a part of their office which they could not dispense with, and only exposed them to a pecuniary mulct when added to their other delinquencies. Yet tho' thus, by the good nature of the Queen, and the mildness of administration, which generally follows the inclinations of the Sovereign, they were in some measure relieved from the outward pressures of the former reign, they were still exposed to many difficulties in the course of their internal management, which required all the prudence they were masters of, to enable them to act both a conscientious and inoffensive part.

The late confusions had occasioned a number of disorders and defects, which called loudly for remedy, but which it was not an easy matter to remedy so soon, and so regularly, as they could have wished. Among the many complaints of this kind, the long disuse of the sacred and apostolical rite of Confirmation, which, tho' once introduced into our reformed church by competent authority, had been wofully and almost inevitably neglected, gave our Bishops many uneasy thoughts, and set them upon endeavouring to have it universally restored; in which pious endeavour, the new Bishop Falconar was particularly zealous and active. But here a fresh difficulty occurred in the way of duly administering this ordinance, arising from

from the many disputable baptisms, which the **LETTER** prevalence of what our Bishops, consistently with **LVI.** principle, could not but reckon a schism, and the terror of King William's law, operating on the fears of the more timorous of our clergy, had been productive of. This put good Bishop Falconar to a great nonplus, and made him consult the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was as much straitened on the subject as he was; but, to answer his request, wrote him the following letter, which I shall set down from the original now before me, leaving the merits of it to the impartial judgment of every serious reader.

It is of date July 30th, 1713, and is in these words, " Reverend brother, the desire of the  
' person you wrote of seems to me to have great  
' reason on its side, and I wish that case had been  
' taken under consideration, and decided either by  
' our own or any other rightly constituted protest-  
' ant church, which so far as I know has not yet  
' been done; nay, the practice and sense of our  
' neighbour church looks to be against it, upon  
' what warrantable principle, or how agreeable to  
' some other both of their principles and practices,  
' I am yet to learn. But as for the thing itself,  
' it wants not perplexing difficulties on both sides;  
' and though I have often thought upon it, yet I  
' must own that I am scarce able to resolve myself  
' clearly as to what may be fit to be done in cases  
' of that nature. I am loth to annul all such bap-  
' tisms, and to impeach both our own church and  
' others that seem to allow them, in so far that  
' they allow those persons, who have no other,  
' all Christian privileges. On the other hand, I do  
' not know how to own the validity of what is  
' done without a commission. For my own part,  
' I

LETTER ' I make a difference between those who are satisf-  
 LVI. ' fied or have no scruples about their baptism, and  
 ~~~~~ ' those who have. As to the first, I reckon their  
 ' baptisms, tho' invalid in matter of right, yet not
 ' so in matter of fact, and *that* thro' the divine in-
 ' dulgence, from the churches in which they live,
 ' their admission and acceptation of them, and the
 ' insuperable difficulties the far greater part of
 ' people are under to know otherwise: For the
 ' church's admitting of such baptisms, tho' no far-
 ' ther than not to pass a censure upon them, seems
 ' to me to put these persons *in bona fide* to rely upon
 ' such baptisms, and I hope that they shall sustain
 ' no prejudice in that case; but how the governors
 ' of the church shall account for affording that
 ' ground of confidence, I do not know. But for
 ' the others, who, upon maturity of judgment,
 ' after diligent enquiry and weighty consideration,
 ' scruple the validity of their baptism, their case
 ' seems to be very different from that of the others,
 ' and I think it hard to reject them, when they
 ' crave to have the defects of their former baptism
 ' supplied; but this I think fit to be done in the
 ' way and manner you wrote of, and that upon
 ' many obvious and weighty considerations. God
 ' Almighty direct you, give us all fuller and
 ' clearer light, and establish all things among us
 ' upon the true ancient foundations.'

By this letter, we see the moderation and modesty of this sensible Prelate, and with what diffidence he expresses himself on a question which had never been authoritatively determined; and which, however plain it might appear to a superficial view, both he and his judicious brother Falconar saw difficulties about, which they could not get over to a full degree of satisfaction. Nor was this

this the only embarrassing business that Bishop Rose had to give his opinion in. When the change of men and measures, by the defeat of the Marlborough party, was begun at court in 1710, he had a message sent him from Oxford, desiring to know, Whether he and the rest of the Scottish Bishops were in communion, as matters now stand, with the established Church of England, and her Bishops? To which he gave this short but wary return; “ I know there has been a division among the members of the Church of England upon that head: The controversy is great and material, and our circumstances among ourselves not affording such difficulties, the most of us perchance have not so carefully examined that matter, and want the needful helps to be fully instructed in it: And for myself, it cannot be expected of me, that without a previous conference with my brethren, and considering that subject thoroughly and maturely with them, I should give my sense of it.” Yet, in matters of civil concern, he corresponded with the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, who were his old acquaintances, and still retained an esteem for him; while he himself, by his wise and peaceable deportment, and with all the dignity of character that belonged to a primitive Bishop, prudently and unblameably governed the poor remains of our church, by virtue of these spiritual powers which, after the death of the two Archbishops, were acknowledged to have devolved upon him.

But this outward serenity, which he and his brethren were beginning to enjoy, upon the removal of the Whig Ministry, as they were called, was not of so long continuance as by the course of nature

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ture might have been expected: For on the 29th of July the Queen suddenly sickened, and died on the 1st of August 1714, in the 50th year of her age, to the surprize of all her friends, and to the great joy of the malecontents, who were longing, and perhaps looking, for that event. It has been said, and from different sides, but upon what grounds does not appear, that after the peace of Utrecht she had begun to harbour some thoughts of sympathy and affection towards her exiled brother, and even was concerting measures for doing him a signal piece of service: And if it had been so, it needed neither have been matter of wonder nor blame, that a sister, even upon a throne, should have retained so much of the compassion inherent in human nature, especially in the softer sex, as to feel for a suffering brother, and an only one too, who she knew was born to the prospect of wearing that crown, which the failings of their common father had excluded the brother from, and given the sister the possession of. But whether it would have been right in her to have had such favourable intentions to a brother; and how far her behaviour to a father, and him too an indulgent father to her, in the very article that was his overthrow, the article of Religion, may be reconcileable to the strict letter of the “first commandment with promise,” however excusable by the plea of political necessity, are too intricate points for me to meddle with, and shall be left to the “great Judge of all the earth” to determine.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R . LVII.

Accession of the House of Hanover—Consequences of it—A new Act against the Scotch Nonjurors—Correspondence with the English about the Usages—Various opinions of the Scotch Bishops—An Agreement effected—Correspondence about an Union with the Eastern Church.

THE same day that Q. Anne died, the Elector of Hanover, a great-grandson of James VI. who had been brought into the late settlement, as the nearest Protestant heir, was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and on the 18th of September, made a magnificent entry into London. And now a total change in every public station commenced. All the late Queen's ministers and favourite officers, were either dismissed by express orders, or being treated with contempt, resigned their places and withdrew. The Marlborough party were taken

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LETTER into favour, and placed in all the offices about the
LVII. court. A proclamation was issued for putting
 ~~~~~ the laws in execution against all Papists, Nonjurors, and disaffected persons. The two chief Secretaries of State for England, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were impeached of high treason. The Earl of Mar, Secretary for Scotland, was removed. In a word, the public affairs thro' the whole kingdom put on a new face under this foreign accession; and the new courtiers drove with such a high hand, as if their design had been, what was shrewdly suspected, to force on the commotions which soon happened.

The Earl of Mar retired to his own country, where he was joined by a number of the nobility and others, and on the 6th of September 1715, set up his standard in name of the exiled prince. At the same time there was a rising in the North of England in the same cause, and from the same disaffection. But they were both soon crushed; For on the 13th of November, the Duke of Argyle at the head of a regular army came up with the Earl of Mar's militia at a place called the Sheriff-muir, not far from Dunblain, where there was an obstinate engagement, with equal claims of victory on both sides: And the same day the English insurgents were totally routed by General Wills at Preston in Lancashire, and a great number taken prisoners. The Scots indeed made a shift to keep together for some weeks, but upon Argyle's being strengthened with a fresh recruit of troops, they saw it adviseable to disperse, and on the 4th of January the Earl of Mar and some others, with the exiled Prince himself, who had landed at Peterhead some days before, embarked at Montrose, and got safe to France. Thus this early and  
 hasty

hasty insurrection was quashed in a short time, and the whole of the year 1716 was taken up in executions and forfeitures, which are the common consequences of all such unsuccessful attempts, and the effects of which are felt by many to this day.

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It was not to be expected that our Episcopal church, under the suspicions which had been long entertained against her, would altogether escape the public notice on this trying and provoking occasion. The oaths were every where put to the clergy in the strictest manner, and were generally refused, notwithstanding the severe penalties they were exposed to by the refusal. Even many of the old ministers, particularly in the North, who had kept their kirks by a compliance under the two last reigns, had scruples about the oaths to the present successor, and were inhibited from performing ministerial offices within their respective parishes. They who had still been Nonjurors, and such of the younger clergy as had kept up Episcopacy, and introduced a liturgy in those parishes of that persuasion where the old compliers had died out, were harassed without mercy, and forced to abscond for their lives. In a word, Episcopacy in general lay under the odium of disaffection to the present government, and upon that account was coldly looked upon, not only in Scotland, where the tide of malice had been long running against it, but even in England, where it still had the standing laws on its side. For the Convocation there, having according to immemorial privilege, met at the same time with the Parliament, and the lower house having in May 1717 drawn up a representation against some positions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, which Hoadly Bishop of Bangor had published in his ill-



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natured "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors;" the Court was so offended at this representation, that before it could be in form presented to the Upper House, the Convocation was by a special order prorogued to November, and has never been allowed to enter upon business since. The next year, the Parliament repealed the Occasional Conformity-Act, which had been passed in 1711 for the security of the Church of England, in the debating of which repealing bill, it was proposed, that persons who came to qualify themselves for any office, should acknowledge the holy scriptures to be of divine inspiration, and profess their faith in the Holy Trinity: But such was the strange spirit of infidelity that now prevailed, the proposal was rejected, "as too great a restraint upon free-born Englishmen." It was not to be thought therefore, when the established Episcopacy in England was treated in this disrespectful manner, that the poor shattered remains of it in Scotland would meet with much lenity or forbearance. Accordingly in April 1719, an act passed in Parliament, 'For making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for the security of the government to be taken by ministers of churches and meeting-houses within Scotland,' by which every Episcopal minister performing divine service in any meeting-house within Scotland, without having taken the oaths in terms of Queen Anne's Toleration, and praying for King George and the royal family by name, is to suffer six months imprisonment, and have his meeting-house shut up for six months; and every house where nine or more persons, besides the family, are present at divine service, is declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of this act. This was no doubt severe enough upon

upon the Episcopal clergy : But the description of LETTER  
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 what was to be deemed a meeting-house liable to the penalty, allowed them a certain degree of legal freedom, and even encouraged them to depend upon further connivance, from those to whom the execution of the law was committed.

All this time our Bishops, for their part, were doing what more immediately belonged to their office, with that primitive courage which became their character, and with such christian caution as the circumstances of the times required. The two old Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblain were now dead, and of the new consecration Bishop Sage had died in 1711, and Bishop Christie, his dear friend, in the beginning of 1718. So that Bishop Rose, having lost all his deprived brethren, and finding himself by age and infirmities on the verge of following them, saw it again necessary to have the succession further strengthened, by another augmentation of the order : And accordingly, on the 22d of October 1718, Mr Arthur Millar, who had been so usefully active in the business of the fund, and Mr William Irvine, formerly Minister of Kirkmichael in the shire of Ayr, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by the three only Bishops that were residing in Scotland at the time, Bishop Rose and his two assumed brethren Fullarton and Falconar. Not long after this promotion, the worthy Bishop Rose, having commendably supported the dignity of a more weighty than lucrative office, thro' a calamitous course of thirty three years, and for a long time struggled with a grievous indisposition of body, was at last, in great mercy to himself, but to the heavy grief of his acquaintances, relieved from all his labours, on the 20th of March 1720, in the 74th year of his age : a man, of whom it was acknowledged by all who  
 knew

LETTER knew him, that “ for all the virtues which adorn  
 LVII. “ the gentleman or the scholar, the Christian or  
 “ the Bishop, he was scarcely equalled, and could  
 “ not be excelled.” What a valuable pilot he  
 was, while he steered the helm of our tossed vessel,  
 was but too sensibly known, by some unhappy di-  
 visions which followed soon after his death : And  
 which need not afford any matter of triumph to our  
 Presbyterian neighbours, when they look to the  
 great breach among themselves, which was be-  
 ginning about this time, and is still widening, in-  
 stead of being closed, as ours at last was, and con-  
 tinues to be.

To account for these divisions, we must now  
 go back a little, and shall find the source of them  
 in England, whence it reached Scotland, some  
 years before Bishop Rose’s death, but was kept  
 under all his time, by the respect and deference  
 universally paid to his authority. We have seen  
 how the first Communion-office of Edward VI  
 was altered, and how, with these alterations, con-  
 firmed by parliamentary sanction, it has been in  
 use in the Church of England ever since. Not-  
 withstanding this legal decision, many eminent  
 divines of that church, both before and after the  
 Revolution, still thought well of the first Book,  
 and of our Scotch Office, which was composed on  
 that plan, as being in some material articles more  
 conformable to all the Eucharistical Offices that  
 are extant, than the present Book of England ;  
 which these very divines acknowledge to be de-  
 fective in expression, however much their church  
 may be, as they plead, orthodox and sound in the  
 intention.

When the Revolution had broke the English  
 Church into two communions, many of the eject-  
 ed

clergy, and among the rest the celebrated Dr. *Hooker*, thinking themselves no longer tied down by parliamentary decrees in their sacerdotal administrations, wished to revive these ancient usages, which they saw the English Reformation had begun with, in the eucharistic service, of Mixing water with the wine. 2. Commemorating the faithful departed at the altar. 3. Consecrating the elements by an express invocation: 4. Using the oblatory prayer before distribution, as in our present Scottish form. Others of them were for adhering to the office as it stood established by law, and authorised by long practice, which the intended revival, they said, seemed to condemn. This difference of sentiment in so important a point, produced conferences and writings from both sides, without any effect, but with no great heat on either side, as long as Bishop *Hooker* lived, whom, for his piety and judgment, they all equally revered. But upon his death, on the 15th of December 1715, Bishop *Jeremy Collier*, the laborious Church-historian, being now the senior Bishop in that succession, and a man of much warmth of temper, as well as extent of learning, appeared keenly at the head of the *High Church*, as we shall now call them, and being supported by an able party, among whom was the well-known Dr. *Brett*, pressed the reception of the four primitive points with great vigour and length of argument. At the head of the other party, was Bishop *Nathaniel Spincks*, formerly one of the Prebendaries of Sarum, and Rector of *St. Martin's* in that diocese, who, with his followers, chiefly rested their opposition on the necessity of keeping close to the second Book, which had received both a civil and ecclesiastical sanction.

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For terminating, if possible, these differences, it was agreed on both sides to consult the Scottish Bishops, and refer the matter wholly to their decision. To this purpose, a Mr Peck came down from the Usagers in 1718, and made application to both Bishop Rose and Bishop Falconar for a synodical determination, which they prudently declined; but were willing to act as mediators and friends to both sides, recommending peace and forbearance of authority, till people's minds be cleared and properly disposed for a reception of these primitive practices. Bishop Spincks too, from the other side, wrote to these two Bishops, to engage them in his favour, but met with the same return. Yet, to testify their readiness to do what they could for preventing a rupture among friends, they employed Dr. Rattray of Craighall in Perthshire, a man of singular knowledge in ecclesiastical literature, and who afterwards came to be a bright ornament to our church in a higher sphere, to draw up proposals of accommodation for reconciling these differences: Which at their request he did, with great candour and moderation, without entering critically, as he well could, into the merits of the cause, but only wishing both parties to condescend so far for peace-sake, as to communicate occasionally with one another in holy offices, according to the respective forms of them whose privilege it was to officiate at the time. This paper, tho' approved by Bishop Rose, as being "written with much judgment, full of christian temper, and making much for peace;" yet, as the Bishop feared, had the common fate of all such reconciling schemes, not to give the satisfaction

saction intended by it, at the same time that neither party could find fault with it.\*

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Thus matters stood, as to the usages in Scotland, when Bishop Rose died; at which time there were six Bishops of the new promotion alive, Fullarton, Falconar, Campbell, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine. Of these the two who were at London, Campbell and Gadderar, having been intimates with Bishop Hickes, and still so with Bishop Collier, and being men of great penetration and acquaintance with antiquity themselves, had espoused the usage-side of the question; Mr Gadderar, indeed, with that calmness and moderation which he was remarkable for, but Mr Campbell with more warmth and keenness. Of the Bishops who resided in Scotland, Mr Falconar leaned, or rather more than leaned that way, as is evident from many of his letters at this time;† in which he de-

\* What Bishop Rose's sentiments on this controversy were, we may gather from what he says in a letter to Bishop Falconar of May 22, 1718. 'As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid upon these usages, I am very desirous of farther information, being resolved, God willing, if I find them strictly necessary, to embrace them with all the disadvantages that may attend them: If only lawful, someway useful or desirable, prudence in such case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted.'

† In one of May 15, 1718, to Bishop Rose, on Mr Peck's coming down, he says, 'I have reason to believe that these primitive usages, the restoring of which is so much laboured by these pious and learned persons, were indeed apostolical, they being delivered to us by men who contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, some of whom sealed that faith with their blood; who lived near the fountain-head; who, under God, were the conveyancers of the holy scriptures to posterity; and who themselves also were endued with *Charisma*. These qualifications state them most veracious and unexceptionable witnesses, and to think otherwise, is, in my

LETTER clares, " That he himself had administered with  
 L.VII. " the *mixture*, and by the Scotch Prayer Book,  
 ~~~~~ " many years backward; long before any dispute  
 " had commenced at London, and that he had
 " apprised the late Bishop of Edinburgh of his way
 " of doing, against which no remonstrance was
 " made: That both he and his brethren approv-
 " ed and used the *invocation*, according to the
 " example of Bishop Rose, which was an innova-
 " tion with respect to the English Liturgy: That
 " there were different liturgies of old and before
 " the Reformation, and all without any injury
 " to unity: That an exact uniformity is hardly
 " practicable, we ourselves being obliged to tolerate
 " some clergy and their congregations, who use no
 " other worship but such as was customary in this
 " nation before the Revolution, and would
 " find ourselves under a necessity to connive at
 " that way of doing, for some time at least, tho'
 " Providence should favour the church so far as
 " to turn the laws on her side." And here, from
 this good Bishop's account of his own practice, it
 might be asked, Why the Scotch Prayer Book was
 not introduced at first, when it was found that
 liturgical worship of any kind would be accept-
 able? Indeed, this was what many at the time
 wished for, but could not easily accomplish. The
 covenanted opposition, in the time of Charles I.

' opinion, to sap the foundations, even to shake the credibility
 ' of the blissful scriptures themselves, and of the church, the
 ' ground and pillar of truth. Hence it will follow, that the
 ' restoration of them is most desirable; the rather, that Catho-
 ' lic Unity, (which to preserve when subsisting, and to restore
 ' when broken, is the indispensable duty of every christian,
 ' chiefly of the governors of the church), cannot be established
 ' but on this primitive footing.'

had

had made the first copies of the book very scarce; and our clergy, not being able to have a new edition cast off in sufficient quantities, were willing to make use of the English Book, of which they continued to get a liberal supply of copies from England. So that it was only the necessity of circumstances that first introduced the use of the English form in Scotland, while it was acknowledged that our clergy were not strictly tied down to it, but were at liberty to use the Scotch Office, which was once duly authorised, or any other orthodox form, which our Bishops, with the assistance of their clergy, might compose.

LETTER
LVII.
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Of the other three Bishops who were in Scotland, Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine, the first two seemed inclined for a while neither to favour nor forbid the usages.† But Bishop Irvine was an open and even a violent stickler against them. His

† Mr Fullarton appears rather to have been once upon the favourable side: For in a letter to Bishop Campbell, wherein he desires much to see Craighall's Paper, of which he heard a great character, tho' he was a stranger to the gentleman's person, he thus writes, July 10, 1721; 'Since I am not sufficiently seen in the matter you write of, and that I know not wherein the stress of the point in dispute lies, I can give no opinion or advice about it: But if you please to state the matter to me, and lay the whole *cardo controversæ* before me, I will give you my opinion very freely of it, tho' my thoughts are not much to be regarded: Besides, I have small encouragement, from the hopes of doing any good, to dip in an affair wherein you and Mr Gadderar have travelled so much to so little purpose, to whose superior genius I humbly submit: And the greatest discouragement of all, seems to arise from the unaccountable temper and humour of the persons with whom you have to do, since nothing will please them, but the praising such administrations as themselves acknowledge to be faulty, and that you must throw up all your demands, tho' they own them to be *desideranda*: Which to me is most surprising.'



LETTER occasions had carried him up to London in 1715,  
 LVII. where having contracted a friendship with Bishop  
 Spincks, to please him, he undertook to secure  
 the Scotch clergy from abetting these controverted  
 points; and accordingly, on his return, he la-  
 boured most strenuously with Bishop Rose to de-  
 clare against them, and join Bishop Spincks: And  
 tho' he failed in his attempts upon that wise and  
 judicious Prelate, yet his assiduity and arguments  
 among the other clergy, laid the foundation of all  
 the disturbance that appeared about the usages  
 after Bishop Rose died.

On that melancholy event, the clergy of Edin-  
 burgh met to deliberate about their affairs, and  
 advise among themselves, whether it was proper  
 now to make any advance towards the choice of a  
 successor; which having been the primitive mode,  
 they concluded was their privilege, now that the  
 connexion of the church with the state, which had  
 brought in another method, was dissolved. This  
 was carried in the affirmative, after the old ejected  
 Presbyters had yielded, tho' with some reluctance,  
 that the younger brethren, who had been ordained  
 since the Revolution, should have a share in the  
 election. Upon the 28th of April they had an-  
 other meeting, when the instruments of consecra-  
 tion of the several Bishops were laid before them  
 by Bishop Falconar, who, in the name of his bre-  
 thren, said, "That tho' they were Bishops of  
 " this church, intended for preserving the Episco-  
 " pal succession in it, yet they did not pretend to  
 " have jurisdiction over any particular place or  
 " district;" and therefore, advised them to pitch  
 upon a proper person to take the management of  
 their affairs. So, the next day, they convened a  
 third time, and with all the formality possible and  
 proper

A. D.  
 1720.

proper for such a business, elected Bishop John Fullarton to be Bishop of Edinburgh, which was immediately accepted by him, and ratified by his three brethren; with this limitation, that he should not, as Bishop of Edinburgh, succeed to the vicarious metropolitical powers which Bishop Rose had exercised, but should only have a privilege to convocate his brethren when the exigencies of the church required it, and preside in such meetings.

These proceedings were notified, on the 3d of May, to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar at London, for their approbation, by Bishop Falconar: Who, on his return from the meeting, had a letter sent him from a great body of clergy in Angus and Mearns, in which they request him to take upon him the spiritual government and inspection of them, and of the people committed to their charge; "Promising hereby, to acknowledge him as their proper Bishop, and to pay all due and canonical obedience to him as such." He had oft travelled amongst them in Bishop Rose's time, and at his desire, with great success, and now with pleasure accepted this affectionate call; as he did a like one, at the same time, from the clergy in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, where he had all along had his residence; in both which districts, with the consent of his brethren, he ever after acted as local Bishop as long as he lived.\*

\* This appears from a letter which Bishop Fullarton wrote to the two Bishops at London, on the 15th of September 1720, and which he signs JOHN, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, where he says, "I freely own that the project of dividing the kingdom into districts, and having a Bishop to superintend in every district, is a most desirable thing, if the practice were as easy as the theory. But alas! There is none of us able to maintain

**LETTER** This laudable example of the clergy of Edinburgh and Angus, in successfully exerting the common privilege of having a particular Bishop of their own, animated the clergy in other parts of the church to put in their claim to the same benefit. The clergy of Aberdeen made application to the Bishops for their licence to proceed to an election, and having obtained it, on the 10th of May 1721, they elected Bishop Archibald Campbell at London to be their Bishop, which they notified on the 2d of August to the other Bishops for their consent. This election of a man of Bishop Campbell's known principles in the present controversy, shews how his electors stood affected to the usages, and upon that account, was not so very agreeable to the other Bishops, who gave but a conditional and limited approbation to it. For which reason, and to avoid giving any unnecessary cause of offence to his brethren, Bishop Campbell yielded his right in favour of Bishop Gadderar, who had been proposed a candidate along with himself, and whom, on his coming down, the clergy of Aberdeen gladly received, with professions of canonical obedience, and entire satisfaction in all that they knew of his principles and practices.

Upon this, the College of Bishops, (for so the opposers of the usages now called themselves) being lately strengthened by an accession of new

‘ ourselves in these districts, and the people will give little or nothing to subsist them; nay, the very Presbyters that officiate among them are in great straits. Dr. Falconar will be very acceptable to the most part of our clergy and laity too, of our communion, on the north side of Forth; and perhaps there may be a way fallen on to settle him in some part of that country: But we have no view of getting any to settle elsewhere, unless you two would come down and take two districts, &c.’  
mem-

ers, which shall be accounted for afterwards, LETTER  
LVII.  
 : Edinburgh, on the 12th of February 1723, at the instigation of Bishop Irvine, drew up and published a remonstrance and injunction, in  
 of the plurality of the College of Bishops,  
 : Episcopal Church of Scotland, as well  
 as laity, “ Exhorting and obtesting them all  
 shun these fatal rocks, whereon others have  
 n shipwrecked before; and requiring the  
 rgy in particular, to forbear the *mixture* and  
 er obsolete usages, and avoid the being ac-  
 sory to the breaking the peace of the church,  
 l the incurring our just and necessary cen-  
 e.” This proceeding gave great uneasiness  
 ishop Falconar’s quiet spirit, who, foreseeing  
 was in agitation, was not present at the  
 ng; and tho’ willing to concur with his bre-  
 in every thing that made for peace, consist-  
 with truth, yet could not help expressing,  
 great modesty, his sentiments of, and sorrow  
 the disagreeable measures which he saw them  
 pursuing.\* But, to the great regret of all

n a letter of March 6, 1723, to Mr Robert Keith, then  
 the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and afterwards a Bishop,  
 s writes among other things, ‘ As long as governors hold  
 at golden rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omni-*  
 and in case of exorbitant innovations, endeavour with a  
 : of meekness to deliver their flocks from these wrong  
 ghts, which have impressed them and taken hold of their  
 ons, they act their duty: But if they do otherwise, their  
 unt is great, and temporizing in favour of popular humour  
 not bear at the day, when it will be examined whether  
 have pleased men or God. I know that some reckon no-  
 g an imposition but affirmatives: But negatives, for ought  
 ow, are also impositions, witness prohibiting the cup to  
 laity, forbidding the public worship in the vernacular  
 ue, &c. I heartily wish my brethren had not grounded  
 manifestos on the reason of these usages being obsolete and  
 who

LETTER who knew him, this good man died on the 6th of  
 LVII. July this year, and Bishop Campbell, in his ex-  
 postulatory letter to Bishop Irvine, takes the op-  
 portunity of lamenting such a loss, to give that  
 Bishop and his surviving brethren the following  
 caution: "I hope this stroke will make those that  
 remain, strive to cultivate peace more industri-  
 ously than ever, rather than take occasion, from  
 the death of so good a man, to be more severe  
 upon tender consciences."

A. D.  
 1743.

It would seem that this salutary admonition had produced the designed effect; for next year Bishop Fullarton wrote, in name of his brethren, to Bishop Gadderar, inviting him to 'a close, free, and amicable conference, for bringing things to that happy crisis, as we may harmoniously concur together in advancing what doth most tend to the interest of true religion.' This invitation

'antiquated, seeing this will stand in bar to all reformation of principles and practices that are inveterate and have long obtained. Geneva, and the numerous ecclesiastical foreign bodies, may full as reasonably plead this against Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. It may be pled also, by the majority of the Scottish nation now, against many things which are helped to the better since the Revolution, and might have been bogged at as obsolete and antiquated by our people, who should be gently led into a due regard to their superiors, and not prescribe rules to them, which seems to be the cause of that great zeal which the Bishops shew against the ancient usages.' And in the conclusion, having mentioned some other primitive things which he wished were introduced, but which, he says, 'the invidious names of Innovation and Popery always knock in the head, and put a stop to,' he has this notable observation, 'The clearest view we can have of these things is in the pure primitive church: And I am apt to think, that God has laid his rod on the back of this church to bring about such a blissful reform; and I despair of the removal of his rod till this be brought about, if not to ripeness, yet at least in with and endeavour.'

Bishop

op Gadderar complied with; and on the 9th  
 ily 1724, there was a general meeting of them  
 t Edinburgh, where, after much communing  
 easoning about the Usages, the following sti-  
 tions were agreed to: ' Bishop James Gad-  
 rar for his part, whatever may be his senti-  
 ents concerning the mixture, yet being most  
 sirous to have the bond of peace and cement  
 unity with his brethren firmly established,  
 kes the following concession and declaration:  
 at he is willing, whenever any occasion offers  
 communicating with his brethren, to receive  
 e unmixed cup at their hands: That he will  
 t, in his ministrations in any congregation,  
 x publicly; and will use his best endeavours  
 at all under his inspection shall walk by the  
 ne rule: And forasmuch as the Primus and  
 e other Bishops have permitted the use of the  
 otch Liturgy to such of the clergy as shall  
 ink fit to use it, therefore, the said Bishop  
 adderar declares and promises, that he will  
 t insist upon introducing any of the other  
 cient Usages, which have not been authoris'd  
 id generally received in this church; and that,  
 prevent division, he will discharge the intro-  
 icing them within his district, unless the Pri-  
 us and the rest of his brethren, in a lawful  
 vocation, shall see sufficient reason to order  
 atters otherwise: On the other hand, the Pri-  
 us and the other Bishops do grant their authori-  
 and commission to Bishop Gadderar, to offi-  
 ate as Bishop of the district of Aberdeen for  
 e future; with this express condition, that he  
 o not ascribe his officiating there to any dele-  
 ation or substitution from any person whatso-  
 er, but allenarly to the election of the Pres-

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‘ byters, and authority of the Bishops of this church.’ This paper was called a Concordate, and is signed by Bishops Fullarton, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine, and the two lately promoted, Cant and Freebairn.

At this period, it may be proper to step a little out of our line, and take a view of an ecclesiastical affair which was now carrying on, no less indeed than the proposal of an Union between the Greek Church in the Eastern parts of the world, and the Nonjuring Church in the two parts of Britain. This project had been broached as far back as the year 1716, at which time one of the Bishops of the Eastern Church, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais in Egypt, was in London, soliciting assistance from the English Church to the suffering christians in that country. Bishop Campbell falling into acquaintance with this foreigner, and having a scheming turn for every thing which he thought of general usefulness to the church, took occasion, in conversation with Arsenius, to hint something of this kind; and finding him not averse to the experiment, he next mentioned it to his English brethren, at a meeting they had in July that year. At first they all agreed to it, and drew up proposals, which Bishop Spincks translated into Greek, to be presented to Arsenius, and by him laid before the Eastern Church. But soon after, on the commencement of the dispute about the Usages, Bishop Spincks, with his two associates Hawes and Gandy, declined the business, and Bishops Collier, Brett, and Griffin of the English, with the two Scotch Bishops, Campbell and Gadderar, continued the management of it.

These proposals were in number twelve, to which was added a declaration, expressing where-  
in

they agree, and wherein they disagree, with **LETTER**  
 the Oriental Church. The articles of agreement **LVII.**  
 such as no Protestant would refuse to join in :  
 these five points the English openly declar-  
 ed their dissent. 1. They do not allow the same  
 authority to the canons of general councils, which  
 is due to the sacred scriptures. 2. They cannot  
 pay any kind of worship to the blessed Virgin.  
 3. Nor pray to saints nor angels. 4. Nor give  
 religious veneration to images. 5. Nor wor-  
 ship the host in the eucharistic sacrifice. This

Arsenius, on his return, carried along with  
 him and taking Muscovy in his way, had zeal and  
 ability enough to engage the Czar Peter in the  
 project, who not only approved the design, but  
 assisted it, by one of his clergy of the order of  
 the Mandrites, gave the English Bishops assur-  
 ance of his readiness, by all the means in his  
 power, to promote so good a work. To this en-  
 gaging promise, from so high a hand, they re-  
 sponded a polite letter of thanks in October 1717.  
 Here the affair necessarily rested for some time.  
 In the year 1721, Arsenius, who had transmit-  
 ted proposals to the Eastern Patriarchs, but re-  
 mained still in Muscovy himself for managing the  
 affair, having got the answer of the Patriarchs,  
 returned to England, with a most affectionate  
 letter from himself, apologising for the delay. It  
 was titled, 'The Answers of the Orthodox in the  
 East to the Proposals sent from Britain, for an  
 Union and Agreement with the Oriental  
 Church;' and is said, in the conclusion, to  
 have been drawn up 'by a Synodical Judgment  
 and Determination of the Eastern Church, after  
 most mature deliberation of the Lord Jere-  
 mis, the most holy Oecumenical Patriarch of



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Constantinople the new Rome, and the most holy and most blessed Patriarchs the Lord Samuel of Alexandria, and the Lord Chrysanthus of Jerusalem, with the holy Metropolitans, and the holy Clergy of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople, in Council assembled, April 12, 1718.' It is a long paper in Greek, accepting the twelve proposals, and the articles of agreement, under certain explanations and modifications of their own; but keenly, and even with some acrimony of expression, vindicating the Eastern practice in the five capital points of difference, and insisting on a full conformity to it, without the least abatement. Along with this decision from themselves, they sent likewise other two declarations of their church, prior to this: The one of date January 10, 1672, in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and subscribed by Dionysius the then Patriarch, and thirty six other Bishops and Metropolitans: And the other, 'An Extract from the sacred Archives of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople,' and signed, in 1691, by the Patriarch Callinicus, at the head of his clergy.

On the receipt of all these papers from the East, the Nonjuring Bishops at London, in May 1722, made out a reply in Greek, Latin, and English; in which, after supporting their former positions by proper arguments from Scripture and the Fathers, they conclude with suggesting the following proposal by way of compromise: 'If our liberty therefore is left us in the instances abovementioned: If the Oriental Patriarchs and Bishops will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, and adoration of the host: If they please, publicly and authoritatively, by an instrument

' instrument under their hands, to pronounce us **LETTER**  
 ' perfectly disengaged in these particulars, both **LVI.**  
 ' at home and abroad in their churches, and in  
 ' our own: These relaxing concessions allowed,  
 ' we hope, may answer the overtures on both  
 ' sides, and conciliate an union.' This reply,  
 thus finished, they sent off by James, Proto-syn-  
 cellus of the Church of Alexandria, to Arsenius at  
 Moscow, and at the same time wrote to the grand  
 Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Petersburg,  
 and to the great Chancellor Golofkin, recommend-  
 ing the furthering of this undertaking to their care  
 and assistance.

In the beginning of next year, a return came  
 from Arsenius, and from Theodosius, Archbishop  
 of Novogorod, as President of the Ecclesiastical  
 Council, signifying to them his Imperial Majesty's  
 desire, that two clergymen should be deputed  
 from the English side, to confer amicably with two  
 of the Russian clergy on the points in dispute, and  
 endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation.  
 While preparations were making for carrying this  
 proposal into execution, a final answer came  
 from the Eastern Church, telling their correspon-  
 dents, they had nothing to say to the last reply  
 sent them, further than what they had formerly  
 laid down, in their exposition of the doctrines  
 and sentiments of the Oriental Church: And  
 then, instead of acceding in the least to the compro-  
 mise desired of them, they thus give out their ul-  
 timate resolution: ' These doctrines have been long  
 ' since examined, and rightly and religiously de-  
 ' fined and settled by the holy and oecumenical  
 ' synods, so that it is neither lawful to add any  
 ' thing to them, nor to take any thing from them:  
 ' Therefore, they who are disposed to agree with  
 ' us

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us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith, must necessarily follow and submit to what has been defined and determined by the ancient fathers, and by holy and oecumenical synods, from the time of the Apostles and their holy successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time : We say, they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any dispute or scruple : And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written. Done at Constantinople, in the month of September 1723, and signed by Jeremias, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople the new Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch ; Athanasius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the great city of God Antioch ; Chrysanthus, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the holy city Jerusalem ; Callinicus, Metropolitan of Heraclea ; Auxentius of Cyzicum ; Paisius of Nicomedia ; Gerasimus of Nice ; Parthenius of Chalcedon ; Ignatius of Thessalonica ; Arsenius of Prusa ; Theoctistus of Polypolis ; and Callinicus of Varna.' They sent at this time too, for the further corroboration of their doctrine, a confession of faith, by a Synod held at Jerusalem in 1672, commonly called Synodus Bethlemitica, consisting of eighteen chapters, and giving particular answers to four questions, all to the same tune, but not much adapted to the present purpose.

Soon after this correspondence reached London, accounts were brought of Czar Peter's death, which happened on the 8th of February 1725, and was fatal to this conciliating project : For tho' Bishop Collier and his friends wrote to the Chancellor, and to the Grand Council, heartily lamenting this melancholy event, and soliciting their  
interest

t with the new Czarina, we hear nothing about it from this time. And thus was d all at once an enterprize of a most arduous, which indeed discovered a laudable zeal first proposers, but which, besides some imeties of a political complexion attending it, o great probability of succeeding, or even, of its success, of answering any good end. ineffectual as it turned out, one advantage uined by it, that it gave us a genuine view doctrines and rules of the present Eastern h, which in all the religious disputes here West has been so often appealed to, but neither party can claim full kindred with. om their own papers on this occasion, the als of which, we are told, were carried to eth, and perhaps are there still, we find differing from the Papists in the articles of tory by fire, Communion in both kinds, and ope's Universal Supremacy, in all which they on the protestant side; But then, in the of praying to Saints and Angels, and worng of Images, by the new and insipid dison of *Dulia* and *Latria*, and in the doctrine unsubstantiation, with its consequent Adora-f the host, all of which the Protestants dis, these Greeks are as highflown and obstinae, e most violent Papist in the whole Church of :: Besides sundry other peculiarities of less tance, in which they stand single and unrelat-any European denomination whatever. And s state of self-confident separation, unfit to te between, and unwilling to join with, any contending parties among us, I shall leave them

LETTER them, and return, in my next letter, to our own  
LVIII. more immediate concerns. Mean time,



I am, &c.

## L E T T E R LVIII.

*Political Differences among the Episcopal Clergy—*

*The Scheme of a College of Bishops generally disapproved—Diocesan Episcopacy revived by a second Concordate—Peaceable Accession of George II.—Divisions among the established Ministers.*

THE Concordate mentioned in the preceding letter, which the Scotch Bishops agreed to at their last meeting, put them on a footing of mutual good understanding, at least with respect to the controverted usages. But it soon appeared, that these usages were only the ostensible cause of difference, and that there was a more secret source

of discord which could not then be so well  
 ed, nor so openly discussed. Some of the  
 d clergy had brought along with them as  
 of the old secular attachment, as to retain  
 nd notion, that the church could not subsist  
 ut acknowledging the same dependence, and  
 g the same respects and submissions which,  
 nes of legal settlement, she had been ac-  
 ned to. In all the promotions hitherto  
 the Revolution, there had been no such  
 thought of. The principle by which the  
 os then acted, was, that adventitious dona-  
 from the state, and grateful concessions from  
 urch, were reciprocal; and that conse-  
 ly, as Bishop Falconar expresses it, in one  
 letters, 'when the church is under desti-  
 on of secular encouragement, whether vo-  
 ary or involuntary, she may and should be-  
 herself to her own intrinsic powers.' But  
 after Bishop Rose's death, it was advised  
 ends of a certain denomination, that the long  
 ant privilege should be revived, and ecclesi-  
 prerogative interposed, not indeed in express  
 of the old form, but simply by way of re-  
 endation, which it was thought, would be  
 fensive, and equally effectual.

on this plan, a recommendation appeared in  
 1720, in favour of Mr David Freebairn,  
 had been sometime Minister at Dunning in  
 shire, and another in February next year for  
 ndrew Cant, who had been one of the Mi-  
 s of Edinburgh, both of them before the  
 lution. These nominations were not pleasing  
 two senior Bishops, Fullarton and Falconar,  
 aw no necessity for such interposition, and ex-  
 d no benefit by it. However at last, by the  
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LETTER force of repeated importunity, the *Primus* was in-  
 LVIII. duced to yield, and on the 17th of October 1722,  
 ~~~~~ Cant and Freebairn were consecrated at Edin-  
 burgh, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine; Bishop Falconar either not inclining, or not being called, to assist. Thus was this point carried, and a precedent fixed, as Bishop Fullarton had foreseen: For tho' it was promised at this time, that, if concessions were granted in what was now desired, there should be no more interpositions in matters of that nature, yet in less than eighteen months, there were no fewer than four new candidates proposed in the same way, Mr Alexander Duncan, formerly Minister at Kilpatrick-easter, Mr Robert Norie at Dundee, Mr James Rose at Monimeal, and Mr John Ouchterlonie at Aberlemno. Of these the two first, Duncan and Norie were consecrated sometime in 1724, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine: But the other two were put off for some time, and the *Primus* expressly forbade the consecration of Mr Ouchterlonie, till his character should be cleared up. The next to him in rank, Bishop Gadderar, objected to the promotion of a person so notoriously *Secular* as Mr Ouchterlonie was known to be, and we may easily gather from Mr Gadderar's principles, what he meant by the appellation of *Secular*. Bishop Millar too, not only declared against it himself, but likewise cautioned Bishop Cant to have no hand in it, as having been brought on surreptitiously and by misinformation. Yet in end it was made out, and he and Rose were consecrated at Edinburgh November 29, 1726, by Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, and Cant, the only three who could be prevailed on to do it. Bishop Irvine had died the year before: The *Primus* and Bishop Millar, per-
 emptorily


emptorily refused to concur in it, and Bishop Cant, contrary to his engagements to Bishop Millar, had been wheedled into it by the solicitations of a lay-friend, for which he wrote a most penitential letter to Bishop Millar the very next day, and could never be prevailed with to sign the instruments of consecration.

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These proceedings, so superfluously useless in the matter, and so dangerously imprudent in the manner of them, were particularly grating to the better and more numerous part of the clergy: And the Presbyters of Edinburgh drew up a petition, signed by eighteen of them, against these promotions from such extraneous recommendations, and resolutely asserting "The intrinsic powers of the church against secular invasion" and lay-encroachment, as being the catholic principle, upon which the Bishops have governed ever since the Revolution." Many of the clergy too, in the several parts of the kingdom, began to weary of this vague uncertain kind of government under Bishops at large, and to wish for a particular Bishop to have the inspection of them, and administer Episcopal offices to them. The clergy of Edinburgh had always been happy under such inspection. They of Angus and Fife had followed the example. So had they of Aberdeen, and both of them had got proper Diocesans, upon the primitive footing. The College in general were sensible of the utility and propriety of that old and universal model of Episcopal government, and began to humour the prevailing tendency which they saw every where towards it.

In the beginning of May next year, the Primus Fullarton died, and on the 5th of that month the clergy of Edinburgh met for electing one to suc-

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1727.

LETTER LVIII. ceed him, and chose Bishop Millar, who was willing to concur with the other local Bishop, Gadderar of Aberdeen, in endeavouring to have things rectified, and brought back to some degree of primitive order. And Bishop Cant, to make amends as much as he could for his late mistake, came cordially into these wise measures, which Gadderar and Millar, in conjunction with Campbell, the oldest Bishop now in the succession, were proposing. At this time too, a fair opportunity offered for accomplishing the diocesan scheme, which Bishop Gadderar so much favoured, and which his two old brethren, Fullarton and Falconar, had both approved and practised. The clergy of Angus, and part of Perthshire, taking into consideration the advantages of having a particular Bishop over them, to whom they might apply for direction, and being fully satisfied of the distinguished learning, and other qualifications of Mr Thomas Rattray of Craighall, one of their number, did therefore, almost unanimously, elect him to be their Bishop, and applied to Bishop Millar, as *Primus*, to have their election confirmed. In terms of this application, Mr Rattray was consecrated at Edinburgh, June 4, 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Cant; Bishop Campbell at London, who had a just value for him, and had long corresponded with him, consenting to it with great cheerfulness.

As the same time, the other four College Bishops, Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ouchterlonie, thought proper to increase their strength by the consecration of Mr David Rankin and Mr John Gillan, which had been proposed the year before, on the revived footing of lay-nomination, but for that reason had been hitherto declined.


However,

However, those on the diocesan side were now ^{LETTER} determined to carry on their plan, independent of ^{LVIII.} any foreign or secular influence, and therefore received into their number, Mr William Dunbar, sometime Minister at Cruden, whom the clergy of Moray had lately elected, and Mr Robert Keith, designed to be Co-adjutor to Bishop Millar, who were both consecrated at Edinburgh, on the 18th of June 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderar and Rattray. Thus the contention between the College, as they called themselves, and those who favoured the restoration of the old regular system, came to be managed, if not by equal arguments, yet by equal numbers. Bishop Millar, the Primus, against whom those of the opposition chiefly levelled their attacks, was well supported in the struggle by his comprovincial brethren, and letters came from the clergy of Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross, to the Presbyters of Edinburgh, congratulating them on their choice, and encouraging them to adhere to their proper Diocesan, Bishop Millar. However, the old man did not live to see an end of these unhappy divisions: For he died on the 9th of October this year; and on his death the clergy of Edinburgh, in continuance of the privilege which they had hitherto exercised, chose Mr Andrew Lumsden, formerly Minister at Duddingston, to be their Bishop, who was consecrated accordingly, at Edinburgh, on the 2d of November 1727, by Bishops Cant, Rattray, and Keith.

This was a fresh disappointment to those who favoured the College scheme, who, seeing now that all their efforts were not sufficient to get their system adopted, even with the weight of that influence of which they so much boasted, were willing to come to some kind of an agreement with the

ARTICLES of A

• Bishops of the Church of
• shall only make use of
• Liturgy in the public div
• disturb the peace of the
• into the public worship an
• concerning which there
• ference amongst us : And
• any of our clergy who
• 2. That hereafter, no ma
• a Bishop of this church
• and approbation of the
• Bishops. 3. That upon
• elsewhere of a Bishop of
• byters thereof shall neith
• another Bishop, without
• Primus, by consent of
• 4. That the Bishops of t
• majority of voices, chuse t
• vocating and presiding onl
• shall claim jurisdiction w
• his own district. 5. W
• Church of Scotland, have
• Bishop Freebairn to be on

' with the Diocess of Galloway, by way of district: **LETTER**
 ' That the Diocess of Dunblain, by way of dis- **LVIII.**
 ' trict, shall be under the inspection of Bishop 
 ' Gillan: That the shires of Fife, Kinross, and
 ' Clackmannan, shall be under the inspection of
 ' Bishop Rose: That the Diocess of Dunkeld, to-
 ' gether with the whole Presbyteries of Meigle and
 ' Forfar, the town of Perth and parish of Meth-
 ' ven, shall be under the inspection of Bishop
 ' Rattray: That the Diocess of Brechin, toge-
 ' ther with the Carse of Gowry, the Presbyteries
 ' of Dundee, Arbroath, and Mearns, shall be un-
 ' der the inspection of Bishop Ouchterlonie: That
 ' the Diocess of Aberdeen, by way of district,
 ' shall be under the inspection of Bishop Gadder-
 ' ar: That the Diocesses of Moray and Ross shall,
 ' by way of district, be under the inspection of
 ' Bishop Dunbar: That the Diocess of Edinburgh
 ' shall, by way of district only, be under the in-
 ' spection of Bishop Lumsden: That Orkney,
 ' Caithness, and the Isles, shall be under the in-
 ' spection of Bishop Keith: By the foresaid divi-
 ' sion of districts, we do not pretend to claim any
 ' legal title to diocesses.* These articles were
 signed by Bishops Freebairn, Ouchterlonie, Rat-
 tray, Gillan, and Keith present; by Duncan, Rose,
 and Dunbar, in absence, without any date, and
 by Gadderar at Old Aberdeen, May 13, 1732.*

* In the first of these articles, we find a permission of the
 Scottish Liturgy, and a prohibition of the ancient usages; a
 distinction which at first sight may appear a little inconsistent.
 But it is to be remembered, that besides the points in difference
 between the Scotch Communion-Office and the present English
 Book, which are the points now called the usages, there were
 some other rites of ancient observance, such as Immersion in
 Baptism, Chrism in Confirmation, and for Anointing the Sick,
 and a few more of that kind, which Bishop Collier and his

This

LETTER LVIII. This last agreement put an end to the College contest : And I have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of it, on purpose, by a plain historical deduction of well attested facts, to vindicate the character of Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, from whom our present Bishops derive their succession, and whose consecration some even of our Episcopal adversaries have been at pains to represent in false colours. From this time the Collegiate system fell to pieces every day, and the primitive Diocesan Episcopacy revived, tho' not to the former legal extent, yet as far as the circumstances of the church required or allowed. Upon Bishop Lumfden's death, who did not live long after the Concordate, Bishop Freebairn got the inspection of Edinburgh, with the title of *Primus*, which the Concordate had given him.† This gentleman still retaining a tincture of the old political leaven, and attachment to established forms, and having, by means of his son, who was in great favour abroad, got hold of some papers which he was fond of, he called a meeting of all the Bishops in 1734. But they suspecting the design, and not chusing to be longer entangled with any thing of that nature, declined the meeting, and would not so much as look at his papers, when young Freebairn offered a private

friends in England wished to have restored ; and these are the usages meant in this article, and in every article of agreement where we find the Scottish Liturgy allowed, and certain antiquated usages prohibited.

† In February 1733, Bishop Gadderar died, and in June the clergy of Aberdeen chose Bishop Dunbar, who accepted and some time after resigned Moray, upon which the clergy there elected Mr George Hay : But he died before consecration, and that district remained vacant some years.

fight

fight of them. In the beginning of next year 1735, Bishop Gillan died, and on the 18th of March the clergy of Dunblain, who had submitted to him since the Concordate, addressed the Bishops for Mr Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar of Fife, whom they had elected, to be their Bishop. Upon this application, Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, who was now chosen Bishop of Fife on Bishop Rose's death, desired the Primus to call a meeting for consecrating the Elect of Dunblain. But being apprized, by undoubted information, that, tho' he consented to call the meeting, he had no intention to forward the consecration, but only to lay before them his son's foreign papers, which they were still determined not to meddle with, they wisely resolved not to meet with him at Edinburgh, except for the sole purpose of the proposed consecration: And being now the majority, who, by the late agreement, and by Bishop Freebairn's own repeated acknowledgments, had the administration in their hands, they called Mr White to attend them at Carsebank, near Forfar, and consecrated him there, on the 14th of June 1735. This produced a warm remonstrance from Bishop Freebairn, which was properly answered from the other side: And some other little differences ensued, at the instigation of Bishop Ouchterlonie, who still sought to keep up the division. But they were not of long duration, for Freebairn died in 1739, and Ouchterlonie in 1742: And with them ended the collegiate scheme of church government, which had originated in unnecessary connexion, had subsisted a while by uncharacteristic methods, and at last, by a prudent revival of ancient principles, gave place to the old regular plan of Episcopacy, and was no more heard of.

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During the transactions of the Scottish Episcopal Church for the last twenty years, we have heard of little or no outward disturbance either from the civil government, or from the established kirk, which had not been the case in former times. But the administration under the Hanoverian succession had been early involved in continental engagements, which chiefly employed their thoughts; and the accession of that family, being fortified by laws, partly made to their hands, partly occasioned by the unsuccessful attempt at their entry, the checking of any intestine disaffection was left to the execution of these laws by the proper magistrates, who slackened or straitened the reins as prudence or humour led them. The first George, who had the character of a judicious prince and consummate politician, had died at Hanover in June 1727, and his son, the second of the name, succeeded quietly, and without any appearance of opposition or claim from the old quarter. So that, no new provocation being given, there was no necessity for new severity against a few suspected men, whom they already had under the hatches, and could restrain, or even destroy when they pleased.

The Kirk too, being now fully secured in possession beyond any fear of such a competition as they had dreaded for some years after the Revolution, was become more easy and pacific, and the infatuated generation of 1688, being mostly gone, their successors began to adopt more liberal sentiments, and to depart in a great measure from those violent proceedings against the poor Episcopalians, which had been thought so necessary to procure their own settlement at first. Besides, they had now business enough of their own upon their hands, to draw off their attention from our matters,

ters, had they been inclined, or thought it worth LETTER
 their while to take notice of them. For about the LVIII.
 time that the differences among our clergy were ~
 on the verge of dying away, the flame, I spoke of,
 broke out among the Presbyterians, from a be-
 ginning indeed which seemed to have no great
 connexion in itself with ecclesiastic concerns; but
 which taking hold of other secret grumblings,
 quickly increased and swelled to the present size.

In the year 1737 one Porteous, a captain of the
 city guard of Edinburgh, a bloody and brutal
 fellow, had been capitally condemned in the Jus-
 ticiary Court for having of his own head given
 orders to his men to fire at the public execution
 of a smuggler, by which a number of innocent
 people were killed. From this sentence, the in-
 human criminal had interest enough to obtain a
 reprieve, which so incensed the populace, that one
 night they broke into the prison, and haling him
 to the Grass-market, hanged him dead in the very
 place where the barbarous action had been com-
 mitted. This was resented by the court as an
 unpardonable insult: And among many other ri-
 gorous edicts, a proclamation came out for disco-
 vering the rioters, which the established ministers
 thro' all the kingdom were enjoined to read
 publicly from their pulpits on the first Sunday
 of every month for a whole year. It is scarce-
 ly credible what a ferment this raised among
 them. All in one voice cried out against it, as a
 most flagrant encroachment on the liberties of
 the church. But, tho' they were all of one
 mind in condemning this injunction, they differed
 in their practice about it. Some for fear read the
 proclamation as required, tho' with great reluc-
 tance, and not without much scruple: Some shift-

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LVIII. ed the reading of it from themselves, and put it upon their precentors: And a great number of them paid no regard to it at all, and would neither read it from their pulpits, nor allow it to be read in their kirks in any shape. Thus a division began, whether upon just grounds or not, and was carried so far that the refusers, who for the most part were men of figure and following among the people, upbraided the readers with basely deserting their fundamental principles, and under that specious pretext, gave up holding communion with them: And this humour, falling in with the complaints of oppression by patronage, and other corruptions in judicatories, added a vast strength to the *Secession*, which was then forming under the too famous brothers Ralph and Ebenezer Erskines, and many more of that stamp, and which all their General Assemblies have never been capable, either to reconcile by prudence, or crush by authority to this day.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R LIX.

*Regular State of the Scottish Episcopal Church—
Canons for the Regulation of her Discipline—In-
terruption of her Peace by the Insurrection of 1745
—Fatal Effects of that Enterprize—Various
Penal Laws against the Nonjurors—Account of
the Writings of John Hutchinson—And differ-
ent Opinions about them.*

HAVING, in my last letter, concluded the short period of disorder naturally arising from the disjointed state in which the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh left the remains of the Scottish Church, I have only now to take notice of the pious and orderly methods by which our Bishops went on in the prosecution of the design which they had struggled so successfully to accomplish. On an application from the clergy of Caithness and Orkney, they got their number increased, by the addition of Mr William Falconar, Presbyter

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ter at Forres, who was consecrated at Alloa, September 10, 1741, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, and in November next year was chosen Bishop of Moray. And on Bishop Ouchterlonie's death, the clergy of Brechin elected Mr James Rait, Presbyter in Dundee, who was accordingly invested with the Episcopal character, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, at Edinburgh, on the 4th of October 1742. Thus we had a church once more regularly organized, under six Bishops, who, after the primitive mode, had each of them a *Portio gregis*, a certain part of the flock under their particular care, and were thereby entitled to a share of the government, *in solidum*, in whole, as S. Cyprian describes the standing model in his day: And every Presbyter now knew his own Bishop whom he was to apply to and obey, which had not been the case during the short reign, or rather anarchy of the *College*.

But the satisfaction felt by the clergy on this occasion was dashed almost in the beginning of it, with a most bitter ingredient, by the loss of their excellent *Primus* Bishop Rattray, who died on the 12th of May, being Ascension-day 1743, a man whom the Episcopal Church of Scotland will long look back to with a mixture of pleasure and regret; with pleasure in the grateful remembrance of having had such a Bishop, and with a deep regret for having been so soon deprived of him. To supply this vacancy, the clergy of Dunkeld having desired and obtained a mandate for that purpose, made choice of Mr John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, who was consecrated at Edinburgh August 9, 1743, by Bishops Keith, White, Falconar and Rait. On occasion of this consecration there being five Bishops now assembled, they agreed, at
Bishop

Bishop Dunbar's motion, and with his concurrence, to constitute themselves a regular synod, with Bishop Keith unanimously chosen *Primus*, and the new Bishop Alexander, Clerk : And taking into consideration some canons which Bishop Rattray had set a draught of, for answering the exigencies of the church in her present particular state, they judged it proper to ratify them by a synodical sanction, with the addition of six others, proposed at this meeting : All which, being the last of the kind, and consequently the standing regulations of the discipline of our church, I have therefore set down from the original minutes, as follows.

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' The Bishops of the Church of Scotland being now, by the good providence of God, perfectly united in one and the same mind, and the Concordates, that were formed while some unhappy differences subsisted amongst them, thereby vacated, they have unanimously agreed to establish the following canons for the future regulation of the government of this church.

I. ' That no person shall be consecrated a Bishop without the consent and approbation of the majority of the Bishops, and that if any three or more Bishops, not being a majority, shall take upon them without such consent to consecrate any person to that office, such consecration shall be null and void, and both the consecrators and consecrated shall be holden as schismatics.

II. ' That the Bishops shall, without respect either to seniority of consecration, or precedence of district, chuse a *Primus* by majority of voices, who shall have no other privilege amongst the Bishops, but of convocating and presiding only, and that likewise under the following restrictions ; That he shall always be obliged to notify

LETTER ' notify to the other Bishops the reasons of his
 LIX. ' calling a meeting, as well as the time and place;
 ~~~~~ ' and if the majority shall dissent, as judging either  
 ' the reasons insufficient, or the time and place im-  
 ' proper, that meeting shall be either wholly set aside,  
 ' or the time and place altered as shall seem to  
 ' them most expedient. 2. That if the *Primus* shall  
 ' at any time refuse to call a meeting, when de-  
 ' sired by a majority of the other Bishops, they  
 ' shall in that case have power to meet and act  
 ' synodically without him, and 3. This *Primus* thus  
 ' chosen by the majority is to continue in that  
 ' office only during their pleasure.'

III. ' That if either the present or any subse-  
 ' quent *Primus* shall, in the present situation of the  
 ' church, lay claim to any metropolitical or vi-  
 ' carial power, or to any farther power of any  
 ' kind than what is granted to the *Primus* by these  
 ' present canons, the *Primus* or Bishop so claiming  
 ' shall be suspended from all Episcopal jurisdiction,  
 ' even within his own district, until he give in to  
 ' the Bishops a subscribed renunciation of any  
 ' such claim, as being what may prove of most  
 ' dangerous consequence to the church in her  
 ' present circumstances.'

IV. ' That upon the demise or translation of  
 ' any Bishop, the Presbyters of the district thereby  
 ' become vacant, shall not be at freedom either  
 ' to elect, or submit themselves to, another Bishop,  
 ' without a mandate from the *Primus*, with the  
 ' majority of the Bishops: But if the *Primus* shall  
 ' refuse to grant a mandate, the majority may do  
 ' it without him.'

V. ' That if the Presbyters of any district shall  
 ' happen to elect a person already vested with the  
 ' Episcopal character, the Bishop so elected shall  
 ' have

‘ have no jurisdiction over that district, until his **LETTER**  
 ‘ election be confirmed by the majority of the **LXI.**  
 ‘ Bishops : And if they shall elect a Presbyter, of  
 ‘ whose fitness for that office the Bishops shall de-  
 ‘ clare they have sufficient reasons not to be satisfi-  
 ‘ ed, in that case, the Presbyters shall be required  
 ‘ by the Bishops to proceed to a new election.’

VI. ‘ That every Bishop shall appoint one of  
 ‘ his Presbyters to officiate under him as his Dean,  
 ‘ and that this Dean shall be obliged to advertise  
 ‘ the *Primus* upon the death of his Bishop, that the  
 ‘ Bishops may provide for the supply of the va-  
 ‘ cancy with their conveniency : And the Dean  
 ‘ shall apply for a mandate to elect a successor,  
 ‘ in the space of four months at farthest after the  
 ‘ vacancy.’

VII. ‘ That during the vacancy of any district,  
 ‘ the Presbyters thereof shall apply to the Bishop  
 ‘ who shall have his place of residence nearest to  
 ‘ them, for the performance of Episcopal offices  
 ‘ amongst them ; and no other Bishop shall take  
 ‘ upon him to perform any such offices within that  
 ‘ district, without the consent of the neighbour-  
 ‘ ing Bishop : And if any case relating to discipline  
 ‘ shall happen, for which the Presbyters had no  
 ‘ rule left them by their former Bishop for their  
 ‘ direction, they shall have recourse to the *Primus*,  
 ‘ who, with the advice and consent of his col-  
 ‘ leagues, shall determine the same.’

VIII. ‘ That no Presbyter shall take upon him  
 ‘ the charge of any congregation, until he be ap-  
 ‘ pointed thereto by the Bishop to whose district  
 ‘ that congregation belongs : Nor shall any Pres-  
 ‘ byter or Deacon remove from his own district,  
 ‘ without dimissory letters from the Bishop there-  
 ‘ of : And none shall be ordained a Presbyter,

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‘ without a designation to a particular charge.’—

IX. ‘ That seeing, in the present distressed state of this church, it may happen, that a Bishop may have his dwelling and place for public worship within the district of another Bishop; in that case, those who belong to this his congregation, together with the Presbyters or Deacons joined with him as his assistants in officiating therein, shall be as much under his jurisdiction as if they were within the bounds of his own district, and shall be exempt from the jurisdiction of that Bishop, within the bounds of whose district they are: And the Bishop in whose district they are shall, by a subscribed deed, agree to this regulation.’

X. ‘ That every Bishop shall be careful to recommend to his clergy, and to such also as may be candidates for holy orders, to apply themselves diligently to the study of the holy scriptures, and of the fathers of the apostolical and two next succeeding ages, and to take all proper opportunities, in their sermons and otherwise, to instruct their people in the truly catholic principles of that pure and primitive church.’

XI. ‘ The Dean of every district, as representing the Presbyters, shall be allowed to sit in all synodical meetings, to propose and reason in all matters of discipline and grievances of Presbyters; but not to give any decisive voice: The clergy of vacant districts shall be required to chuse a Dean out of their own number; and the said Dean, so chosen, shall not be allowed to name a proxy, but must attend in person, and bring with him his credentials.’

XII. ‘ That the church may suffer as little damage as possible by the death of the temporary *Primus*, the senior Bishop shall instantly succeed

‘ to

‘ to his powers until the next Synod: And he shall be obliged to call a Synod, so as it may be holden within the space of four months at farthest, after the death of the former *Primus*, unless the majority of the Bishops shall think fit to delay it for a longer space.’

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XIII. ‘ That when any of the Bishops are disabled from being personally present at a Synod, thro’ infirmity or pressing inconvenience, to be notified to the *Primus*, and by him to the other Bishops, the absent Bishop or Bishops may send their judgment to the *Primus*, signed with their own hand, concerning those matters on account of which the Synod was precisely called to meet, and this shall be holden for their canonical vote: The absent Bishops may likewise propose to the Synod in writing, any thing they shall judge expedient for the good of the church; and as to other matters that may incidentally come before the Synod, the absent Bishop or Bishops must be concluded by the majority of those that are present: But no Synod shall be holden, unless there be more Bishops present than absent.’

XIV. ‘ That in all questions or cases, where the Bishops shall happen to be equally divided in their opinions, in Synod or out of Synod, that side of the question shall carry upon which the *Primus* gives his vote.’

XV. ‘ That if any Presbyter or Deacon, who shall have the misfortune to be deposed by his Bishop, do presume to perform any part of the sacred office, or to gather a separate or schismatical congregation, he shall be excommunicated; And if any clergyman shall take upon him to countenance such Presbyter or Deacon in their schismatical separation, he shall be suspended



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‘ from the exercise of his holy function, for such space as his Bishop shall think fit: And such of the laity as shall adventure to adhere to the deposed Presbyter or Deacon, either in worship or other sacred administration, shall not be allowed to partake of any church ordinances, until they are reconciled again, and received by the Bishop of the district.’

XVI. ‘ That if any clergyman shall take upon him to join persons together in matrimony, who belong to the congregation of another clergyman, without a certificate or recommendation from their former Pastor, he shall, for the first fault, be suspended from his office for the space of three months, six months for the second fault, and for the third fault he shall be suspended *sine die*.’

When these canons were intimated to the inferior clergy, a few in the metropolis, who had one of their own number in view for the Episcopate, tho’ they knew he would not be acceptable to the Bishops, objected to one of the canons as an infringement of their right of election; and to others, as curtailing the powers of their Ordinary, as Bishop of Edinburgh. But these objections were considered as of no weight by the clergy in the other parts of the kingdom, who all dutifully acquiesced in the proceedings of the late Synod, and looked forward, with much satisfaction, to what they hoped would be the peaceful and pleasing consequences of it. Yet this happy prospect, which our church now had of enjoying peace and quiet, was soon darkened by a heavy cloud of distress, the occasion of which I shall very briefly lay before you.

About the end of July 1745, the young Prince Charles

Charles Stuart, eldest son to the abjured claimant, <sup>LETTER</sup> landed in the Highlands of Scotland, with only <sup>LIX.</sup> seven attendants in his retinue; upon what invitation, or with what hopes of assistance, I shall not say; and being in a few days joined by some gentlemen in that neighbourhood, he set up his standard on the 22d of August, and published his father's manifestos, inviting all his loving subjects to come in and declare for the cause. I am not to attempt a minute detail of this unfortunate business, which has been so copiously related by others, and is still fresh in the memories of many among us. Suffice it to say, that, after having, with his handful of Highlanders, gained two complete victories over his opposers, one at Preston in East Lothian, on the 21st of September after his landing, and the other at Falkirk, on the 17th of January next year, besides several skirmishes, in which success seemed to be on his side, this bold Adventurer was obliged, after all, to retire to the Highlands; where, on the 16th of April 1746, coming to an engagement on Culloden-muir, not far from Inverness, his army was totally discomfited with a great slaughter; and himself, having escaped off the field, and wandered a long time in great jeopardy among the mountains and isles on the western coast, at last, on the 20th of September, got on board a French ship of war, with some few of his followers, and on the 9th of October arrived safe in France, in a most lamentable condition.

Thus ended this hazardous and almost romantic enterprize, which had for some months held all Scotland in awe; and, by a brisk irruption, raised no little alarm in the very heart of England, but was now shut up with the usual scenery of  
military

BETTER military butcheries and legal executions. It has

LIX. been branded with the appellation of “ the wicked and unnatural Rebellion ;” and I do not mean to contend the propriety of the appellation, as I am taught to believe, that all rebellion is wicked and unnatural, and as such, am required to pray against it. Though, after all, if it were convenient in this case to offer a definition of rebellion, which has generally been understood to be, a rising up of subjects against their Sovereign, upon any specious pretence or private quarrel of their own ; it might be supposed, and I hint the supposition with all due caution, that this present instance might perhaps be viewed rather in the light of a contention between two rivals, both claiming the same possession, and both equally alleging the justice of their claim ; which, being too weighty to be determined by argument, could only be decided by the sword, and where the losing side were to lay their account, as in all such litigations, to be condemned in costs of suit. I have no scruple to allow, that it is natural for the victor, when he has been in possession, to be particularly incensed at a case of this kind, as in every example of superiority, even in the highest example of all, we find the superior more provoked by disputing his title, than by disobeying his commands. At the same time, I would beg leave to put our Presbyterian neighbours in mind, not to load our church with the whole burden of a rebellion, if it must be one, in which so many of other persuasions, and even some of their own, perhaps as many as of ours, were deeply engaged. Especially, let them not charge our religion with abetting rebellious principles, till they can assure us that they have renounced the principles of their predecessors, who

who avowedly preached up the lawfulness of fighting for their religion against any King whatever, which our church has always condemned, and never to this day practised. LETTER  
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But whether our church was blameable or not upon this occasion, so it was in fact, that she was soon involved in the dismal consequences of it. In most country places, the meeting-houses were burnt to the ground by parties of the military detached on purpose: In towns or villages, where burning was not safe, they were shut up or demolished: The clergy themselves were obliged to leave their houses, which sometimes were plundered, and to sculk where they best could, that they might not fall into the soldiers hands: Their hearers stood aghast, between pity for their ministers and fear for themselves, being under the same suspicions, and equally uncertain what might be the issue. In a word, all was desolation and dismay among us, having no friend of capacity or courage to advise or protect us, and depending, in confidence of the divine goodness, only upon the integrity of our principles and testimony of our consciences, for inward support under the weight of these outward pressures. And yet, it must be acknowledged, and such of us as can look back to the confusions of that summer, do acknowledge it with grateful candour, that bad as the situation of our country was, there was reason to fear it might have been much worse, when we consider that the ordinary course of law was by proclamation suspended, and all put under military government for three months. In the Highlands indeed, which had the misfortune to be the stage of decisive action, and where the principal object of indignation was still wandering up and down, there were daily accounts

LETTER counts, during that time, of cruelties and devastations, which no excuse could palliate, nor even the licentiousness of war justify. But in such places as were at any distance from that unhappy neighbourhood, the necessary orders against suspected persons, tho' grievous enough in the mean time to the miserable sufferers, were executed, for the most part, with a humanity which did honour to the feelings of those concerned in the execution, and to which the cool moments of reflection will give its due praise.

In this state of anxious suspense, stood our ecclesiastical matters, till upon a gradual return of civil administration, the law began to take notice of us, and to provide more efficaciously in time coming against these dangers, of which our enemies now took the handle to charge our church with having been the occasion. To this purpose a severe act passed in this summer session of Parliament, enjoining the strict execution of all former laws against Nonjuring Episcopal Ministers, with such regulations as were judged necessary to be a stronger curb upon them: For it was now enacted, ' That from and after the 1st of September 1746, every person exercising the function of a Pastor or Minister in any Episcopal Meeting in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the royal family by name, shall, for the first offence, suffer six months imprisonment,' as in the statute of the last reign, but with this threatening addition now, ' And for the second, or any subsequent offence, being thereof convicted before the Justiciary or any of the Circuit Courts, shall be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations'.

' tions in America for life, and in case of his re-  
 ' turn to Britain, shall suffer imprisonment for  
 ' life : ' The prosecution of this second offence  
 to be upon information in writing, from the in-  
 ferior magistrate to the King's Advocate, who is  
 required to prosecute the same with effect. The  
 number too of hearers allowed by former laws  
 was now abridged by a special clause, declaring,  
 ' That every meeting in Scotland, where five per-  
 ' sons or more shall be met together to hear di-  
 ' vine service, over and besides those of the  
 ' household, or if it be in a place not inhabited,  
 ' where any such five or more shall be met, and  
 ' where divine service shall be performed by a  
 ' Pastor or minister being, or professing to be, of  
 ' the Episcopal communion, every such meeting  
 ' shall be deemed an Episcopal meeting house with-  
 ' in the meaning of this act.' And to shut the  
 door for ever against any shew of favour to the  
 continuation of a Scottish Episcopacy, it is fur-  
 ther enacted, ' That from and after the said first  
 ' of September, no letters of orders of any Epis-  
 ' copal minister in Scotland shall be admitted to  
 ' be registered, but such as have been given by  
 ' some Bishop of the Church of England or of  
 ' Ireland, and in case any others shall be register-  
 ' ed, such registration shall be void : Provided that  
 ' every prosecution, for any offence against this  
 ' act, shall be commenced within twelve months  
 ' after such offence : ' Thereby keeping us longer  
 at the mercy of enemies, and under the danger of  
 informations, than by Queen Anne's law, which  
 had limited it to two months.

But these restrictions, tho' sufficiently severe and  
 designed to be so, were not the only hardships  
 which at this time were laid upon our poor ob-

LETTER noxious church. Hitherto our laity, of whatever  
 LIX. rank or character, high or low, had met with no  
 legal molestation, nor been subjected to any penal-  
 ty on account of their religious profession, and many  
 conspicuous names of eminence and repute in the  
 several departments of the administration, and well  
 enough affected to the publick government, had  
 attended our communion without inward scruple  
 or outward offence. But now there is a fatal  
 check put upon this freedom, and the hearers  
 are for the first time restrained, as well as the  
 clergy: For this new act further bears, ' That  
 ' if after the said 1st of September any person shall  
 ' resort to or frequent any illegal Episcopal meet-  
 ' ing house of the above description, every person  
 ' so offending, who shall not within five days give  
 ' information of such illegal meeting to some pro-  
 ' per magistrate, shall, upon conviction, for the  
 ' first offence, forfeit five pounds sterling, one  
 ' half to the King and the other half to the inform-  
 ' er, and suffer six months imprisonment, unless  
 ' and until the same be paid, and for every subse-  
 ' quent offence, being convicted before the Justicia-  
 ' ry or any of the Circuit Courts, shall suffer im-  
 ' prisonment for two years, from the date of con-  
 ' viction.' And lest the risk of a small fine, which  
 might perhaps over-awe the vulgar, should not  
 operate sufficiently upon people of fortune and  
 family, it is particularly enacted in their case,  
 ' That from and after the said 1st of September,  
 ' No Peer of Scotland shall be capable of being  
 ' elected one of the sixteen Peers of Parliament,  
 ' or of voting at such election, nor shall any per-  
 ' son be capable of being elected, or of voting at  
 ' any election of, a Member of Parliament for any  
 ' shire or burgh in Scotland, or of a Magistrate  
 ' or

' or Counsellor for burghs, or of a Deacon of <sup>LETTER</sup>  
 ' Crafts within burghs, or of a Collector or Clerk <sup>LIX.</sup>  
 ' of the land-tax or supply, who shall have, at any  
 ' time within one year preceding such election,  
 ' been twice present at divine service in any Epif-  
 ' copal meeting in Scotland not held according to  
 ' law, and where his Majesty and the royal family  
 ' have not been prayed for by name:\* And it shall  
 ' be competent for any Peer, and for any candi-  
 ' date or member at the other elections, to make  
 ' this objection, and to prove the same by a wit-  
 ' ness or witnesses upon oath, or by referring it to  
 ' the oath of the person objected to; and in case  
 ' the same shall be proved, or the person objected  
 ' to shall admit the fact or refuse to depose concern-  
 ' ing it, he shall be rendered incapable of voting,  
 ' or of being chosen at any such election, as afore-  
 ' said: But such admission shall not be made use  
 ' of against any such person, upon any prosecu-  
 ' tion for any penalty inflicted by this or any for-  
 ' mer act.'

Nor was even this all the parliamentary precau-  
 tion, that was judged necessary for the public secu-  
 rity against the supposed disaffection of the Episco-  
 pal party. For in May 1748, this act, extensive  
 and provident as it might have been thought, was  
 revised: And information having been laid before

\* Instances have frequently occurred, where advantage has  
 been taken of this disqualifying clause, to the prejudice of per-  
 sons possessed of every other qualification, and who had given  
 every other test of their allegiance which the law requires. May  
 it not be humbly hoped, that the wisdom of the legislature will  
 now see it expedient to remove such an odious and unnecessary  
 mark of distinction, which can answer no other end, than merely  
 to serve the purposes of a party, without adding any thing to the  
 security of government?




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the Parliament, that a small number of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland had complied with the terms of the act of 1746, an amendment was proposed of that part of the act, respecting what letters of orders were to be registered; and in order to disappoint these few individuals, it was carried, 'That no letters of orders, not granted by some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland, shall, from and after the 29th of September 1748, be sufficient to qualify any Pastor or Minister of any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same were registered before or after the 1st of September 1746, and that every such registration, whether made before or since, shall, from and after the said 29th of September, be null and void.\* Neither was this all that our church suffered by this revival. The act of 1746 had left our clergy the liberty of four hearers, besides the

\* This amending clause passed in the House of Commons without any great struggle: But in the House of Lords, it met with a different reception. In the Committee, it was opposed by all the Bishops unanimously, as well as by several Lay-lords; and on the question being put, it was thrown out, by 32 against 28: But upon report, a new debate ensued, and on a division, it was replaced, by 37 against 32. The Bishops, who spoke most vigorously against it, were Oxford, London, Lincoln, and Worcester, who not only pointed out the manifest injustice of this new explanation, with great force of reasoning, but likewise expressed themselves not thoroughly pleased with the clause in its original construction, as bordering too near upon the rights of ordination, which, they said, was a matter not of Parliamentary but ecclesiastical cognizance, and was inherent in the Episcopal character, which they acknowledged the Nonjuring Bishops in Scotland were, tho' not legally, yet primitively, clothed with. But the Chancellor Hardwick, who, if not an enemy to, was indifferent about Episcopacy of any kind, being supported too by all the Scottish Peers, except the Earl of Moray, had interest enough to form a majority against the Bishops, and to get the clause passed as it stands.

family,

family, in any house where they might perform **LETTER**  
 divine service, whether that house was their own **LIX.**  
 or not. But there was a clause in another act at   
 that time, which was now improved to take away  
 this indulgence, scanty as it was.

It had been then provided, ‘ That from and af-  
 ‘ ter the 1st of November 1746, no unqualified  
 ‘ person shall exercise the function of a Chaplain  
 ‘ in any family in Scotland, under the penalty of  
 ‘ six months imprisonment for the first offence,  
 ‘ and for any subsequent offence, of being banish-  
 ‘ ed out of Britain for seven years: And that no  
 ‘ person within Scotland shall keep, or entertain,  
 ‘ any unqualified person as Chaplain in any family,  
 ‘ under the penalty of six months imprisonment  
 ‘ for the first, and two years for the second or any  
 ‘ subsequent offence.’ And now, to wreath the yoke  
 of this provision on the necks of the Episcopal clergy,  
 it is enacted, ‘ For the better ascertaining what shall  
 ‘ be deemed exercising the function of a chaplain,  
 ‘ within the meaning of the act 19th George II.  
 ‘ That from and after the 29th of September  
 ‘ 1748, any person being, or pretending to be,  
 ‘ in holy orders of any denomination whatsoever,  
 ‘ other than the Ministers, Elders or Preachers  
 ‘ of the established Church of Scotland, who shall  
 ‘ preach or perform any divine service in any house  
 ‘ or family of which he is not the master, in the  
 ‘ presence or hearing of any other person or per-  
 ‘ sons, whether of the family or not, shall be  
 ‘ deemed to be one who exercises the function of  
 ‘ a Chaplain within the meaning of that act.’ So  
 that now the Episcopal clergy were strictly con-  
 fined to their own dwellings, and could not in safe-  
 ty perform any part of their ministerial office,  
 in ever such a private manner, in any other house,  
 without

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without exposing both themselves and their hearers to the mercy of this act, which might be interpreted and stretched at pleasure.

From this short abstract of the new penal laws, which I have thus brought together into one view, it will readily appear to what a hampered and ticklish situation the Episcopal Church of Scotland was now reduced, beyond any thing that she had experienced in any period since her legal constitution was dissolved. And yet, under all this confinement, she still breathed, tho' for some time in a very weak and languishing condition. The clergy went about their duty as conscientiously and cautiously as they could; and tho' the legislative part of the government had, in the heat of provocation, laid the rod very severely upon them, which straitened them not a little for a while, yet, as that heat gradually cooled, they began to venture a little further upon the lenity of the executive part, which, it must be owned, was not always so rigorous as some enemies would have wished.

Under all these dangers and difficulties, the Bishops took particular care of what was peculiarly entrusted to them, the continuance of the Episcopal Succession, without which, they knew a church could not long subsist, tho' the hand of oppression were not bearing it down.\* Yet, with

\* Old Bishop Dunbar had died in the beginning of 1746, to the great loss of his clergy, who much needed the assistance and direction of one of his distinguished prudence and long experience, at such a critical juncture: And next year, the clergy of the district elected Mr Andrew Gerard, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, who, upon that election, was consecrated, on the 17th of July 1747, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishops White, Falconar, Rait, and Alexander: And on the 1st of November  
all

all their care and attention, the woeful effects of the late penal laws began by degrees to be felt. Many of the older clergy were called off by death, and such young men as had been preparing themselves for the service of the church, being frightened at the discouraging prospects before them, or wrought upon by the timorous caution of their friends, turned their thoughts another way, and either went abroad, or retired to some secular business at home. The gentry too of our communion, who, by birth or fortune, were entitled to be useful and make a figure in the state, finding their legal privileges struck at by the disqualifying act of 1746, stood aloof in many places from our worship, and not inclining, or not having sufficient conviction of its spiritual authority, to join the establishment, appeared in no place of worship whatever, which, it is thought by many, has contributed not a little to that spirit of irreligion, and disregard for sacred things, now so much and so justly complained of.

Besides all this, the preference given, by that act of 1746, to English or Irish orders, for enjoying the benefit of Queen Anne's Toleration, which had been designed for the Episcopal ordinations in Scotland, brought in a shadow of a foreign Episcopacy, which had not been much heard of before, among us. It is true, in some of our principal seaport towns, there had been now and then one or two English-ordained clergymen, even since the time of Queen Anne. But now, taking the advantage of the difficulties which our church, under the invidious title of Nonjuring,

1759, Mr Henry Edgar, Presbyter at Arbroath, was consecrated at the same place, and by the same persons, as Co-adjutor to Bishop White, then *Primate*.

had

**LETTER** had to grapple with, and laying hold on the men-  
**LIX.** tion of English or Irish Bishops in the late act,  
 numbers of young students of various profes-  
 sions went up to England, upon some sort of  
 vague recommendations, and returning with le-  
 gally allowed orders from one or other of the  
 Bishops there, set up here, not only in towns, but  
 even in some places of the country where there  
 was a vacancy, and sometimes where there was  
 none.

Indeed, tho' some of the English Bishops (for  
 they have not been all of one mind in this point)  
 have condescended to humour such recommenda-  
 tions, which, upon their general principles, is  
 not a little surprising; yet none of them have  
 hitherto chosen to act any part of their Episcopal  
 office, either purposely or occasionally, within the  
 precincts of what was once reckoned their Sister-  
 Church of Scotland. But there have been,  
 among the Irish Prelates, one or two who were not  
 so scrupulous. In 1760, the great traveller, Dr  
 Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, being on a tour thro'  
 Scotland in quest of curiosities, was prevailed with  
 to administer the sacred rite of Confirmation in  
 some of these new congregations in the north:  
 And about ten years after, a Dr. Traill, Bishop of  
 Down and Connor, was pleased to ordain a Priest  
 in Scotland, and that too in a place where there  
 was a Scottish Bishop residing at the time, who for  
 more than thirty years had held the pastoral charge  
 of that very congregation, to which those few who  
 had encouraged this Irish performance had belong-  
 ed. How regular, or consonant to ecclesiastic  
 order, in any æra of the church, ancient or mo-  
 dern, such proceedings are, belongs properly to  
 the casuist or controvertist to enquire into. As an  
 historian

historian, I only relate facts, and as facts I leave LETTER  
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 them, with this observation, which experience will justify the application of, that as no vice is more dangerous than that which deceitfully puts on the masque of virtue, so these strange intrusions, under the fair and friendly shew at first of brotherly assistance, have, in end, conduced more, than any avowed enmity would have done, to depress that Episcopal Succession in Scotland, which, bating the mistaken article of political scruple, the English Bishops do acknowledge to be otherwise orthodox and valid.

Before I conclude this letter, I shall beg leave, by way of recreation, after the dark and gloomy scene we have been contemplating, to amuse you a little with the view of a literary novelty, which began sometime before this, and continued a good while after, to make a stir among the clergy of England first, and by degrees came next to be talked of in Scotland. In 1748 there was published, an elegant and correct edition, in twelve volumes octavo, of "The Philosophical and Theological Works of the late truly learned John "Hutchinson, Esquire," by Julius Bate, Rector of Sutton in Suffex, and Robert Spearman, a gentleman late of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. This laborious writer was a layman of Yorkshire, and being of a studious turn, assisted by proper education, had improved the opportunities which his station in life, of having the superintendency of sundry coal and tin mines, gave him, to make many valuable discoveries in the Philosophy of Nature, which he afterwards applied to theological disquisitions, and thereby, had the pleasure to find an exact conformity between these two great constituents of human knowledge.

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Some of these discoveries he had sent abroad in detached pieces, as far back as the year 1724; and among the first abettors of them here, was our worthy countryman Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, who studied them with great attention, and not only honoured them with his approbation, but even took time, from the hurry of secular employment, to write some curious and elaborate dissertations to illustrate the author's design: In one of which he expresses his surprise, 'That tho' regard to revelation were out of the question, curiosity did not prevail with men of leisure and learning to look into books that are stored with so much entertainment in that way:' And in a "*Letter to a Bishop*," written long after their first appearance, he says, 'I cannot help thinking it some reproach to the curiosity, as well as to the religious zeal of the clergy, that sentiments, so new and surprising in matters of religion, should have been stalking about for so many years without any examination, approbation, or confutation.' Such was this great man's opinion of these writings, and there was at first some plausible shew of reason for the neglect of them which he complains of. The plan was entirely new, and out of the common line, no less indeed than to find *Natural Philosophy* in the Bible, where hitherto it had been thought no such thing was to be met with, or ever intended. And upon that popular hypothesis, contrived to account for and excuse the palpable contradictions between the current language of scripture, and the now received and applauded system of philosophy, it had been objected, by the numerous tribes of freethinkers, 'That if the pen-men of the Bible were mistaken in  
' natural

‘ natural things, they might be so in spiritual ; or, LETTER  
 ‘ if the God of nature had inspired them in the LIX.  
 ‘ one, he would have done so in the other too.’

This triumphant attack upon the infallibility of the scriptures, put our bold undertaker upon searching them in a different manner from what had hitherto been attempted, and induced him to try, whether the true and genuine sense of the original Hebrew, when fairly construed, without regard to any hypothesis ancient or modern, would not also be the true philosophy, and stand the test of every experiment and observation truly made.

His editors tell us, that the event answered his expectations ; and he found, upon examination,

‘ That the Hebrew scriptures no where ascribe motion to the body of the sun, nor fixedness to the earth : That they describe the created system to be a *Plenum* without any *Vacuum* at all, and reject the assistance of gravitation, attraction, or any such occult qualities for performing the stated operations of nature, which are carried on by the mechanism of the heavens, in their threefold condition of *Fire*, *Light*, and *Spirit*, or *Air*, the material agents set to work at the beginning : That the heavens, thus framed by Almighty wisdom, are an instituted emblem and visible substitute of *Jehovah Aleim*, the Eternal Three, the co-equal and co-adorable Trinity in unity : That the unity of substance in the heavens points out the unity of essence, and the distinction of conditions the personality in deity, without confounding the persons or dividing the substance : And that, from their being made emblems, they are called in Hebrew *Shemim*, the names, representatives, or substitutes, expressing by their names that they are emblems,



LETTER ' and by their conditions or offices, what it is they  
LIX. ' are emblems of.'



He likewise found that the Hebrew scriptures had some capital words which, he thought, had not been duly considered and understood, and which he has proved, or endeavoured to prove, contain, in their radical meaning, the greatest and most comfortable truths. Thus the word *Elohim*, which we call God, he reads *Aleim*, and refers it to the oath or conditional execration, by which the eternal covenant of grace among the persons in *Yehovah* was and is confirmed. The word *Berith*, which our translation renders *Covenant*, and upon which is built the favourite doctrine of mutual covenants between God and man, between Creator and creature, yea, as matters now stand, between King and rebel, he construes to signify, ' He or ' that which purifies,' so the *Purifyer* or purification for, not with, man: The *Cberubim*, which have been made ' angels, placed as a guard to ' frighten Adam from breaking into Eden again,' he explains to be an hieroglyphic of divine construction, or a sacred image to describe, as far as figures could go, the *Aleim* and man taken in, or *Humanity* united to *Deity*: And so he treats of several other words of similar, tho' not quite so solemn, import. From all which he drew this conclusion, ' That all the rites and ceremonies of ' the Jewish dispensation were so many delineations ' of Christ, in what he was to *Be*, to *Do*, and to ' *Suffer*, and that the early Jews knew them to be ' types of his actions and sufferings, and by per- ' forming them as such, were in so far christians, ' both in faith and practice.'

These are some of the principal outlines of this author's doctrines, which, being at first thrown out

out in scattered pamphlets, were not, as Prefident Forbes observes, much taken notice of one way or other ; but being now collected together, and given out to the public in one view, became in a short time the subject of much dispute and of various entertainment, according to the various tastes of those who looked into them. And tho' none of the English Bishops gave them open encouragement, for what reason is not known, yet, as they passed no censure or prohibition upon them, many eminent divines of that church patronized them, and employed their pens either in proper explanations and consistent enlargements of them, or in vindicating them from the attacks of such as, not daring to quarrel with the design in general, thought it enough to shew their dislike, by criticizing upon some particulars in the execution.

In this condition, these abstruse writings by degrees found their way into Scotland, and met with the same variety of reception. Some chose to adhere to the current notions, under pretence of veneration for the primitive fathers, whom, they supposed, these new discoveries seemed to contradict. While others, of equal acquaintance with and regard for antiquity, saw no such danger ; but having impartially examined Mr Hutchinson's works, as far as their time and talents enabled them, were happy to think that they had thereby acquired more excellent ideas of christianity, and could more successfully combat the Arian, Socinian, and deistical opposers of it, by his use of the Scripture-Artillery, than by all the dry metaphysical jargon of the Schools. And without pretending to decide in such a division of sentiment, it may be pronounced a strange thing, that a serious respect to, and diligent study of, the language

LETTER guage in which *Jehovah* was pleased to reveal  
 LX. himself first to man, should be despised and scoffed  
 at by those who ought to know better, and that  
 too in an age, in which there are so many hostile  
 troops of dangerous errors set in battle-array a-  
 gainst the saving truths and gracious promises de-  
 livered to us, in that language.

I am, &c.

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## L E T T E R LX.

*Accession of George III.—Clemency of his Reign  
 —Effects of it in Scotland—Application from  
 the Clergy of Connecticut—Consecration of Dr.  
 Seabury by the Scotch Bishops—Reflections on  
 that Event—Synodical Meeting and Resolution  
 of the Scotch Bishops—Conclusion.*

FROM the short digression in the conclusion of  
 my last letter, I shall now return once for all  
 to the affairs of the Scotch Episcopal Church,  
 and

and shall soon be able to finish what remains any way worthy of notice concerning them. For, from the state of depression into which this church sunk after the convulsions of 1746, down to the present time, there occurs little material, either in her outward appearance, or internal transactions, farther than what is necessary to the very being of a church, and common in every description of one. The discouragements under which she now laboured, by the great ones abandoning her communion, and the youth, whom she had bred, withdrawing their assistance, seemed to threaten her with a total and speedy annihilation. And tho' from that she was providentially preserved, yet the failure of these inward supports, making way for extraneous encroachments, did actually throw her into a kind of gradual and wasting consumption.

This malady was increased for some years, by a repetition now and then of some little stroke from the old hostile quarter, which tho' not to be called persecution, served to keep her down under the weight which the new laws had laid upon her. There were some few imprisonments here and there for a first offence; and one of our clergy, Mr John Connachar, in 1755, was banished out of Scotland by the Justiciary Court at Inverary, not in terms of any of the late acts, but upon an antiquated Scotch Marriage-Act, which was purposely produced, and, as was loudly complained of at the time, even wrested to operate against him. These prosecutions were not indeed general, and seemed to be rather the effects of private pique, for particular views, than of any formed design among those who were vested with public authority: But coming out under the colour of law, and in such gloomy times, they had the intended effect

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**LETTER** effect of adding to the damp with which the face  
**LX.** of our church had been already overspread, and  
 ~~~~~ distressed our clergy, as being all in the same predicament, with a perpetual uncertainty whose turn it might be next. And this lowering cloud continued to hang over them during all the remainder of that reign, which would appear not to have quite forgot or forgiven the high insult offered to the middle of it at home, and the provoking interruption thereby made to the success of the favourite war which it was then engaged in abroad.

On the death of George II. in October 1760, his grandson by his son Frederick, who died Prince of Wales in 1751, mounted the throne; and has, by the clemency of his disposition, and mildness of his government hitherto, shewn himself the true son of a father, who in domestic life, which was the only sphere he was allowed to shine in, was as humane and amiable a character as ever England had seen possessing that princely title. Soon after his accession, this young Prince concluded a peace with his two brother Kings of France and Spain, with whom his grandfather had left him at war: And shewed likewise by the choice of his ministry and other arrangements in the state, how much he wished to banish all national prejudices, and to root out, by acts of generosity, that disaffection to his family, which had been supposed peculiar to Scotland. Encouraged by these early symptoms of placability towards national enemies, and of an equal and impartial regard towards all his subjects, our church by degrees revived a little from her former depressed and declining state, and our clergy thought they now saw the agreeable prospect of better times, under a government which had begun in so promising a way.

With

With these thoughts, therefore, and in hopes of being winked at by such a mild eye, they ventured to have separate houses of worship erected again, in some small towns and country places, in as easy a manner, and with as little noise as possible. Since the general destruction of the meeting-houses in 1746, they had convened their flocks for divine service, as quietly as they could, in and about their own private dwellings ; where, under all the difficulties that such confined meetings were daily exposed to, both from within and from without, they had the satisfaction, in alleviation of their many other anxieties, to find their people's patience and steadfastness, in the trying course of sixteen or eighteen years, such as would have been no disparagement to the character of primitive times ; and such too as their very enemies admired, and even praised them for. But many of the old race going off the stage, and a new generation gradually rising up, who had felt little of the past shock, it was hoped there would be no danger now to make a calm attempt, where it could be done, for further accommodation in their attendance upon religious duties, and under the protection of Heaven, to trust to the lenity of an administration, which seemed to see no necessity for the continuance of former severities. There were some young men too, beginning to appear now for the ministerial office, where their labours might be called for, which was another incitement to the proposed erection, and was likewise a lucky circumstance for recovering the church out of that fatal decay, under which she had so long been languishing.

In this favourable appearance of returning serenity, it was thought proper to revise our Communion Office, and bring it, now that there was

LETTER no contention or difference about it, to as exact a
 LX. conformity with the ancient standards of eucharistic service as it could bear. This revival was undertaken in 1765, by two of our Bishops, who were well versed in these matters, and by some few alterations of expression, and a judicious arrangement of the several parts, especially by restoring the Invocation to its original position after the Oblation, instead of standing, as it had done, before the words of institution, have put the whole of that solemn office into such a form, as will be acknowledged by every one who is in the least conversant in antiquity, to be most agreeable to the nature and design of that divine institution itself, and at the same time best adapted both to fence against the novel doctrine of transubstantiation, and to silence any idle clamours which ignorance or prejudice had raised, or might raise, about our inclining to Popery.

All this time, the main point of ecclesiastic constitution was watchfully looked to, and the Episcopal order kept up as occasion served, or necessity required. The decrease of clergy in some of the old districts, and some other disagreeable circumstances, which now and then occurred, created vacancies in those places where either a Bishop was not sought, or could not for some time be had: And such vacancies, when happening, were supplied with Episcopal offices, as they were applied for, according to the provision made before-hand for any emergency of that kind, by the 7th of the Canons enacted in 1743, which were now received as the standing code of Church Discipline, suited to our particular situation. But where no incidental hindrance or canonical objection intervened, every vacant district was provided with an Ordinary, as
 speedily

speedily and regularly as the circumstances of the case would admit. * LETTER
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In the year 1784, when our church had indeed a less number of Bishops than usual, but still such as was sufficient for the time to answer the great end of the office, an unexpected affair of a quite foreign nature was providentially thrown in her way, which contributed to raise her in some measure out of that obscurity into which a run of distresses had plunged her, and procured her a parti-

* Thus, on the death of Bishop Gerard of Aberdeen in October 1767, the clergy of that district met next year, and elected Mr Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peterhead, who was consecrated on the 21st of September, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishop Falconar now *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander. In 1774, Mr Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblain, on the 24th of August, at Forfar, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, and Forbes, the last of whom had been consecrated at Forfar, on the 24th of June 1762, by Bishops Falconar, Alexander, and Gerard, and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness. On the 27th of June 1776, Mr Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Folla in the Diocese of Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of Moray, at Dundee, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, Kilgour, and Rose; and next year, on the death of Bishop Forbes, was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and soon after had the sole charge of Moray resigned to him by Bishop Falconar, who was then elected to Edinburgh, where he had long resided, and died in 1784. In 1777 Bishop Rait died, on which the clergy of Brechin chose Mr George Innes, Presbyter in Aberdeen, who was consecrated at Alloa, August 13, 1778, by Bishops Falconar, Rose, and Petrie, but died in 1781, and the district continued some years vacant. On the 25th of September 1782, Mr John Skinner, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, being previously elected by the clergy for that purpose, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of that district, at Luthermuir in the Diocese of Brechin, by Bishops Kilgour, Rose, and Petrie; and in 1786, on Bishop Kilgour's resignation, with consent of the other Bishops, and acceptance of the clergy, succeeded to the whole charge, in terms of the 9th Synodical Canon of 1743.

LETTER cular degree of respect and notice, from a quarter where she had not been favoured with much of either for some time before. The American war, which, from inward and artfully fomented murmurings, had at last broke out into open revolt, and had been carried on for some years with various success between Britain alone, and her rebellious colonies, supported by France, Spain, and Holland, had, in spring 1783, terminated in a peace, by which Britain gave up her sovereignty over these colonies, and fully acknowledged and ratified the independence which they had already assumed to themselves, under the new title of "The Thirteen United States of America." This concession of necessary policy, dissolved the established connexion which had hitherto subsisted between the Episcopal people in America and the Bishop of London, who had always been, by appointment and practice, the proper Ordinary of the Episcopal Church there, but could no longer now be submitted to by them in that character. And as the United States had found it for their interest to grant an universal liberty of conscience to all professions, without preference to any by way of establishment, the Episcopal clergy, thus left to themselves, and destitute of any Superior, began to look about how to get this fundamental defect removed, and have their now orphan church duly organized, in such a form as they believed essential to her being, and might find consistent with the civil constitution of their new government.

In this important undertaking, the clergy in the province of Connecticut, who had long been a numerous body, took the lead: And having, after mature deliberation, pitched upon Dr Samuel Seabury,

Seabury, one of the missionaries from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, as a clergy-
man, in their unanimous judgment, every way
qualified for the Episcopal function, and who had
been one of the suffering loyalists during the late
war, they sent him over to their old mother
church of England, with proper attestations of his
character and qualifications, and earnestly suppli-
cating the Prelates of that flourishing church to
take pity upon their desolate state, and give them
a Bishop in the person of this worthy brother, to
be a spiritual father to them for governing them
in the mean time, and for the great work of con-
tinuing a regular ministry to posterity in time to
come. Upon the Doctor's arrival in England,
and presenting his credentials, the English Prelates
received him very graciously, but required time to
consider in what way the object of his journey might
be best accomplished. The business was new, and
out of the usual line of their procedure hitherto, in
the performance of this distinguishing part of their
high office. They saw the expediency of the measure
proposed, but wished to have some preliminaries
adjusted, and brought as near as possible to their
own stated forms, without which, they were at a
loss how to act consistently with that regard which
they owed to the standing practice of their church,
and the strict connection subsisting in England be-
tween the civil and ecclesiastical constitution.

In this state of suspense, which necessarily lasted
many months, the candidate began to weary of so
long a delay, and such a continued uncertainty, as
the former was not convenient for his own situation,
nor the latter suitable to the expectations of his
employers: Therefore, having known before, that
there was a continued succession of Bishops in
Scotland,

LETTER
LX.

Scotland, and finding, where he then was, no objection to the validity of their Episcopal powers, whatever there might be to the propriety of their political scruples, he contrived to have it enquired at second hand, what prospect there might be of speedy success in an application to that quarter, if such application should be formally made. When this was intimated, in such a general manner, to the Scotch Bishops, they knew not well at first what to think of it, as being entirely unacquainted with the character of the person proposed, and not certain whether there might not be some danger in their giving any countenance to such an unexpected application. But when the proposal was more pointedly and pressingly repeated, and assurance given them, by authority which they could rely on, that Dr. Seabury was a clergyman of unblemished reputation and eminent parts, with a full representation at the same time how matters stood concerning him in England, they at last agreed to comply with the application, and contribute what was in their power, towards advancing the good work so urgently recommended to their assistance. Upon the welcome notification of this consent, Dr. Seabury came to Scotland, and, on the 14th of November 1784, being Sunday, was publicly consecrated at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, now *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner.

This charitable act of spiritual function, by which the Episcopal Church of Scotland has the honour of first introducing a resident Protestant Episcopacy into America, was variously talked of when it came to be generally known. Some gave it their countenance in terms of the highest approbation. Others there were, who, tho' they could

could not openly and with any shew of principle condemn it, yet affected to treat it with contempt and ridicule, both in private conversation, and in some of the periodical papers. But whatever sinister interpretations may be put upon our Bishops taking such a part in this business, they are fully satisfied of the purity and uprightness of their own intentions; and while they look back with pleasure to the pious and grateful sentiments of which the clergy of Connecticut, on receiving their new Bishop, gave public and unanimous testimony, they will rest themselves on the well-grounded hope of the accomplishment of that affectionate wish, which these clergy expressed, in the overflowing of their hearts upon that occasion, "That
 " wherever the American Episcopal Church shall
 " be mentioned in the world, this also, that the
 " Bishops of Scotland have done for her, may be
 " spoken of for a memorial of them."†

† In the year 1786, another body of Episcopal clergy, in some of the Southern States of the American Union, made a similar application to the English Bishops, upon being informed that the alledged obstacles in Dr. Seabury's case had been purposely and legally removed: And it was announced in the public papers, that on the 4th of February 1787, Drs White and Prevost, the former elected for Philadelphia, the latter for New York, were both consecrated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. This year too gave three new Bishops to the Episcopal College in Scotland: For on the 7th of March 1787, Mr Andrew Macfarlane, Presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peterhead, as Co-adjutor to Bishop Petrie, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishops Petrie and Skinner; and soon after, on the death of Bishop Petrie, was elected and collated to the charge of the districts of Ross and Moray. And, in consequence of an election by the clergy of Brechin, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and Mr John Strachan, Presbyter in Dundee, were both consecrated at Peterhead, on the 25th of September 1787,

LETTER I have only now to take notice of an affair,
LX. which has very lately happened, and will, no
 ~~~~~ doubt, be found, in its consequences, to be of  
 considerable importance in the history of the Scots  
 Episcopal Church. On the 24th of April 1788,  
 the Protestant Bishops in Scotland having met at  
 Aberdeen, to take into their serious consideration  
 the state of the church under their inspection, did,  
 upon mature deliberation with their clergy, un-  
 animously agree to comply with, and submit to,  
 the present government of this kingdom, as vested  
 in the person of His Majesty King George the  
 Third. They also resolved to testify this compli-  
 ance, by uniformly praying for him by name in  
 their public worship, in hopes of removing all sus-  
 picion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from  
 those penal laws, under which this church has so  
 long suffered. This resolution was duly intimated  
 to the clergy and laity of their communion, as  
 proceeding from principles purely ecclesiastical,  
 and to which the Bishops are moved by the justest  
 and most satisfying reasons, in discharge of that  
 high trust devolved upon them in their Episcopal  
 character, and to promote, as far as they can, the  
 peace and prosperity of that portion of the christian  
 church committed to their charge.

For obtaining of this desirable end, as their  
 intimation, published on this occasion, bears, they  
 ‘ THEREFORE appoint their clergy to make  
 ‘ public notification to their respective congrega-  
 ‘ tions, upon the eighteenth day of May next,

by Bishops Kilgour, Skinner, and Macfarlane, the former as  
 Bishop of Brechin, the latter as his Co-adjutor. Since that  
 time, Bishop Abernethy being elected for Edinburgh, has been  
 appointed to that district, and having resigned the charge of  
 Brechin, is succeeded in it by Bishop Strachan.

‘ that

‘ that upon the following Lord’s day, nominal prayers for the King are to be authoritatively introduced, and afterwards to continue, in the religious assemblies of this Episcopal Church : And they beg leave to recommend, as to their clergy, whole obedience they expect, so likewise to all good christian people under their Episcopal care, and do earnestly intreat and exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will all cordially receive this determination of their spiritual Fathers. If any of them wish for farther information on this subject, the Bishops hereby direct them to apply to their respective Pastors ; and conclude this address with their hearty prayers to, and stedfast dependence upon, their gracious HEAD and MASTER in Heaven, that he would be pleased to bless, sanctify, and prosper, the pious resolutions and endeavours of his servants upon earth, to the advancement of his glory, the edification of his church, and the quiet and welfare of the state in all godliness and honesty.’ By this wise and salutary measure, an end is put to those unhappy divisions, which have long distracted this kingdom ; and many thousands of our countrymen, who have hitherto been suspected of disaffection to the present government, will now be considered as loyal and obedient subjects.

Thus I have brought the History of our Church (to speak with the poet, ‘ *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,*’ or more in point with the apostle, ‘ through good report and bad report’) down to the present time ; and shall now take leave of a subject, in my management of which, after all the labour and pains it has cost me, I am abundantly sensible many defects will be found.

**LETTER** Some there will be, I hope indeed a great many,  
**LX.** who will complain that I have not done the subject  
 justice. To this charge, where kindly intended  
 and candidly made, I shall most readily plead  
 guilty; and shall only offer the trite apology of  
 having done the best I could, with my hearty  
 wish, that some abler hand would undertake it,  
 and do better. There will be others of the oppo-  
 site sentiment; that the subject, especially in the  
 latter part of it, was not worth the pains that even  
 I have been able to bestow upon it. To that class  
 of critics, I never doubted but our church, in her  
 present low condition, would appear an object of  
 contempt, as in her higher state of outward splen-  
 dor she had been of envy and ill-will. But let  
 such remember, that the whole Christian Church  
 was once in the same predicament; set at nought  
 by the rich and opulent, by the applauded philoso-  
 pher and fashionable politician, ridiculed for her  
 principles, and despised for her numbers. Not  
 that I would be stating an exact parallel in every  
 particular, especially in the invidious article of  
 persecution, between our situation and that of these  
 early times. I would only observe, that to im-  
 partial reflexion, if such would apply itself to our  
 case, it may rather be matter of wonder than  
 offence that, under such repeated depressions, and  
 destitute of all worldly support, our church should  
 have been preserved thro' the long course of a  
 whole century, even tho' reduced to that low con-  
 dition, in which the insulting eye of prosperity  
 may allow itself to triumph over her.

Whatever ground there might have been for the  
 popular cry of 'Disaffection and improper Hopes,'  
 against the ejected Episcopal clergy, who, as men  
 of natural passions, and once in legal possession of  
 com-

comfortable livings, could not be thought all at once to lose sight of their former situation, or contract much affection for the immediate authors of their losses and disappointments, there can be no good reason for keeping up these two inflaming articles of suspicion against their successors, who certainly can have no other object in view, than the interests of 'that kingdom which is not of 'this world,' no higher ambition than to do their duty as messengers of the PRINCE of PEACE. And as the principles, by which they are actuated, are thus harmless and inoffensive, they have no doubt but their practices, if inquired into, will shew them not altogether unworthy of the clemency which they have for some time experienced. Far from being guilty of any actual infringement of the laws of their country, their only fault has consisted in omitting to qualify themselves in the precise manner which the law prescribes. That omission it was not in their power to avoid, but by declining or throwing up that sacred office, which a strong sense of duty prompted them to undertake. They are now happy to think, that a favourable period has concurred with their most anxious wishes, for obtaining that relief which their situation has so long and loudly called for. The prejudices which gave occasion to the penal laws are now no more. A religious dissenting from the establishment is not considered as inconsistent with the safety of government: And those of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland may, without any hazard, be allowed to partake of that freedom, which is extended throughout the kingdom to sects of every denomination. Though they wish for 'Liberty,' it is not that they may 'use it for a 'cloke of maliciouness,' but that, 'as the Ser-

LETTER:  
LX.  
~



LETTER 'vants of God,' they may perform, without molestation, those duties which, they are convinced, are essential to their happiness, both in this world, and in the next. And when they consider, with what becoming zeal the British legislature has lately given force to the pious endeavours of the English Bishops, for planting Episcopacy in foreign countries, they cannot but hope, that their own Episcopacy may yet be saved from ruin, and that *Britons* will not be refused a share of that gracious provision which has been extended to *Aliens*. In this hope, they humbly commit themselves, and all their concerns, to the care of his over-ruling Providence, who has the hearts of Kings in his hands: Devoutly praying, that HE may still guide his church in the paths of righteousness, and direct his protection to her, through whatever channel of benignity he pleases, that, under that blessed protection, they may lead quiet and peaceable lives, 'with consciences void of offence toward God and toward men.'

I now beg your favourable acceptance of these my endeavours to comply with your requests, and remain,

Yours, &c.

MAY 1, 1788.

T H E E N D.

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APPENDIX.

That the Reader may have a clear and distinct View of the Episcopal Succession in Scotland, since the Revolution, as far as the present Bishops are concerned, it is thought proper to subjoin the following List of Consecrations, with the true Dates and Consecrators Names, as extracted from their Ecclesiastical Register.

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JAN. 25, 1705. **M**R. JOHN SAGE, formerly one of the ministers of Glasgow, and Mr John Fullarton, formerly minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by John Paterfon, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, bishop of Dunblane.— N. B. Archbishop Paterfon, bishop Rose, and bishop Douglas, with the other Scots Bishops, were deprived at the Revolution by the civil power, because *Episcopacy* had been voted an *insupportable grievance* by the Scots Convention. *Bishop Sage died in June 1711, and Bishop Fullarton in May 1727.*

APRIL

## 694 ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

**APPEND.** APRIL 28, 1709.—Mr John Falconar, minister at Cairnbee, and Mr Henry Chrystie, minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Sage. *Bishop Chrystie died in 1718, and Bishop Falconar in 1723.*

AUG. 25, 1711.—The Honourable Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Falconar. *He died June 16, 1744.*


FEB. 24, 1712.—Mr James Gadderar, formerly minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by bishop Hicke,\* bishop Falconar, and bishop Campbell. *He died in February 1733.*

OCT. 22, 1718.—Mr Arthur Millar, formerly minister at Inveresk, and Mr William Irvine, formerly minister at Kirkmichael in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Fullarton, and bishop Falconar. *Bishop Irvine died November 9, 1725, and Bishop Millar, October 9, 1727.*

After bishop Rose of Edinburgh's death, which happened March 20, 1720,—OCT. 17, 1722, Mr Andrew Cant, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr David Freebairn, formerly minister at Dunning, were consecrated at Edin-

\* Dr. George Hicke, formerly Dean of Worcester, was consecrated in the Bishop of Peterborough's Chapel, in the parish of Enfield, February 23, 1693, by Dr William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. *N. B.* Dr Lloyd, Dr Turner, and Dr White, were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution, by the civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William III. They were also three of the seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James II. for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their dioceses.

burgh,

burgh, by bishop Fullarton, bishop Millar, and APPEND:  
 bishop Irvine. *Bishop Cant died in 1728, and*   
*Bishop Freebairn in December 1739.*

JUNE 4, 1727.—Dr Thomas Rattray of Craighall was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Gadderar, bishop Millar, and bishop Cant. *He died May 12, 1743.*

JUNE 18, 1727.—Mr William Dunbar, formerly minister at Cruden, and Mr Robert Keith, presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Gadderar, bishop Millar, and bishop Rattray. *Bishop Dunbar died in 1746, and Bishop Keith in 1756.* N. B. They who were deprived of their parishes in consequence of the Revolution are in this list called Ministers: But they who had not been parish ministers under the civil establishment, are called Presbyters.

JUNE 24, 1735.—Mr Robert White, presbyter at Cupar in Fife, was consecrated at Carsebank, near Forfar, by bishop Rattray, bishop Dunbar, and bishop Keith. *He died in 1761.*

SEPT. 10, 1741.—Mr William Falconar, presbyter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, by bishop Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White. *He died in 1784.*

OCT. 4, 1742.—Mr James Rait, presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White. *He died in 1777.*

AUG. 19, 1743.—Mr John Alexander, presbyter at Alloa, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Keith, *Primus*, bishop White, bishop Falconar, and bishop Rait. *He died in 1776.*

N. B. Anciētly, no Bishop in Scotland had the style of Archbishop, but one of them had a precedence, under the title of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus*.

**APPEND. copus.** And after the Revolution, they returned to the old form, one of them being elected *Primus*, with power of convoking and presiding, according to their Canons of 1743.

**JULY 17, 1747.**—Mr Andrew Gerard, presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop White, (having commission from bishop Keith, the *Primus*, for that effect) bishop Falconar, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander. *He died in October 1767.*

**JUNE 24, 1762.**—Mr Robert Forbes, presbyter in Leith, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Alexander and bishop Gerard. *He died in 1776.*

**SEPT. 21, 1768.**—Mr Robert Kilgour, presbyter in Peterhead, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander, and appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, in room of the late bishop Gerard.

**N. B.** Though the districts, into which the Scottish Bishops have divided their Church, are not exactly according to the limits of the Dioceses under the legal establishment, yet they still retain their old names, and every Diocesan Bishop has his distinct charge.

**AUG. 24, 1774.**—Mr Charles Rose, presbyter at Down, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Forbes, and appointed Bishop of Dunblane, in room of bishop Alexander.

**JUNE 27, 1776.**—Mr Arthur Petrie, presbyter at Micklefolla, was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, bishop Kilgour, and bishop Rose, and appointed Co-adjutor to bishop Falconar, whom he afterwards succeeded as Bishop of Moray. *He died April 19, 1787.*

SEPT.

SEPT. 25, 1782.—Mr John Skinner, presbyter APPEND.  
in Aberdeen, was consecrated in the Chapel at  
Luthermuir, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop  
Rose, and bishop Petrie, and appointed Co-adju-  
tor to bishop Kilgour, on whose resignation he  
succeeded to the charge of the Diocese of Aber-  
deen, in October 1786.

MARCH 7, 1787.—Mr Andrew Macfarlane,  
presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peter-  
head, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop Petrie,  
and bishop Skinner, and appointed Co-adjutor to  
bishop Petrie, whom he succeeded soon after as  
bishop of Ross and Moray.

SEPT. 26, 1787.—Dr. William Abernethy  
Drummond, one of the presbyters of Edinburgh,  
and Mr John Strachan, presbyter in Dundee, were  
consecrated at Peterhead, by bishop Kilgour, *Pri-  
mus*, bishop Skinner, and bishop Macfarlane, the  
former being appointed Bishop of Brechin, and  
the latter his Co-adjutor; That Diocese having  
been vacant since bishop Innes died in 1781, whose  
consecration is not mentioned in this list, as he had  
no hand in carrying on the Succession. For the  
same reason, several other consecrations are omitt-  
ed. N. B. Bishop Abernethy being, since his  
promotion, elected for Edinburgh, is now ap-  
pointed to that district, and having resigned the  
charge of Brechin, is succeeded in it by bishop  
Strachan: So that the Episcopal College in Scot-  
land consists at present of the following members;

Mr ROBERT KILGOUR, PRIMUS.

Mr CHARLES ROSE, Bishop of *Dunblane*.

Mr JOHN SKINNER, Bishop of *Aberdeen*.

Mr ANDREW MACFARLANE, Bishop of *Ross and Moray*.

Dr ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop of *Edinburgh*.

Mr JOHN STRACHAN, Bishop of *Brechin*.

## ERRATA IN VOL. II.

|         |         |                                               |
|---------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Page 19 | Line 17 | for "Bur" read "But."                         |
| 21      | — 7     | leave out "but."                              |
| 24      | — 33    | for "ft te" read "state."                     |
| 57      | — 29    | put a comma between "Alciat and Blandrata."   |
| 61      | — 32    | leave out "of."                               |
| 93      | — 19    | read "been deferred."                         |
| 101     | — 14    | for "p ray" read "party."                     |
| 121     | — 5     | for "throw" read "threw."                     |
| 131     | —       | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin.            |
| 132     | —       | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin.            |
| 158     | — 26    | leave out "at."                               |
| 187     | — 5     | for "either joined" read "either not joined." |
| 193     | —       | on the margin, for "158" read "1568."         |
| 195     | — 33    | for "retun" read "return."                    |
| 329     | — 31    | for "On this day" read "On this,"             |
| 330     | — 24    | for "1612" read "1621."                       |
| 338     | — 20    | for "formerly" read "formally."               |
| 415     | — 14    | for "for" read "from."                        |
| 489     | — 10    | for "aw" read "law."                          |
| 522     | — 22    | for "This" read "Thus."                       |
| 644     | — 30    | for "As" read "At."                           |

*N. B.* In the Dedication, Vol. I. l. 7. p. 2, for "Veniret" read  
"Venerit."





